

Aesthetics of Space: Representations of Travel in Medieval Japan

by

Kendra D. Strand

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Doctoral Committee:

Emerita Professor Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen, Chair
Associate Professor Kevin Gray Carr
Professor Ken K. Ito, University of Hawai'i Manoa
Associate Professor Jonathan E. Zwicker

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Dedication

To Gregory, whose adventurous spirit has made this work possible, and to Emma, whose good humor has made it a joy.

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Preface

My first time in Japan, I was living in a small town in Hokkaido as an undergraduate intern. A few months after settling in, I took a trip to Hakodate with my classmate, Sarah. The city is on a narrow strip of land that juts into the ocean, and it is famous for its stunning night view. Although I did not know then, the view of Hakodate from Mount Hakodate 函館山 enjoys the designation of one of the “Three Great Night Views” of Japan. The other two are the views of Kobe and Osaka Bay from the Rokkô Mountains 六甲山地, and of Nagasaki from Mount Inasa 稲佐山.

On the first night, we made the trek up Mount Hakodate. We claimed an open spot on the viewing deck, looked for a moment, and then promptly picked up our cameras. The first shot I took was blurry, but more disappointing was the strip along the bottom that showed the backs of all the other tourists who were gathered at the railing, taking pictures of their own. The next shot I took managed a fuller view of the city lights, and without the crowd, but I disliked it for the single cropped head in the lower right corner.



Figure 1: My first attempt at capturing the night view of Hakodate, from the observation deck on Mount Hakodate.

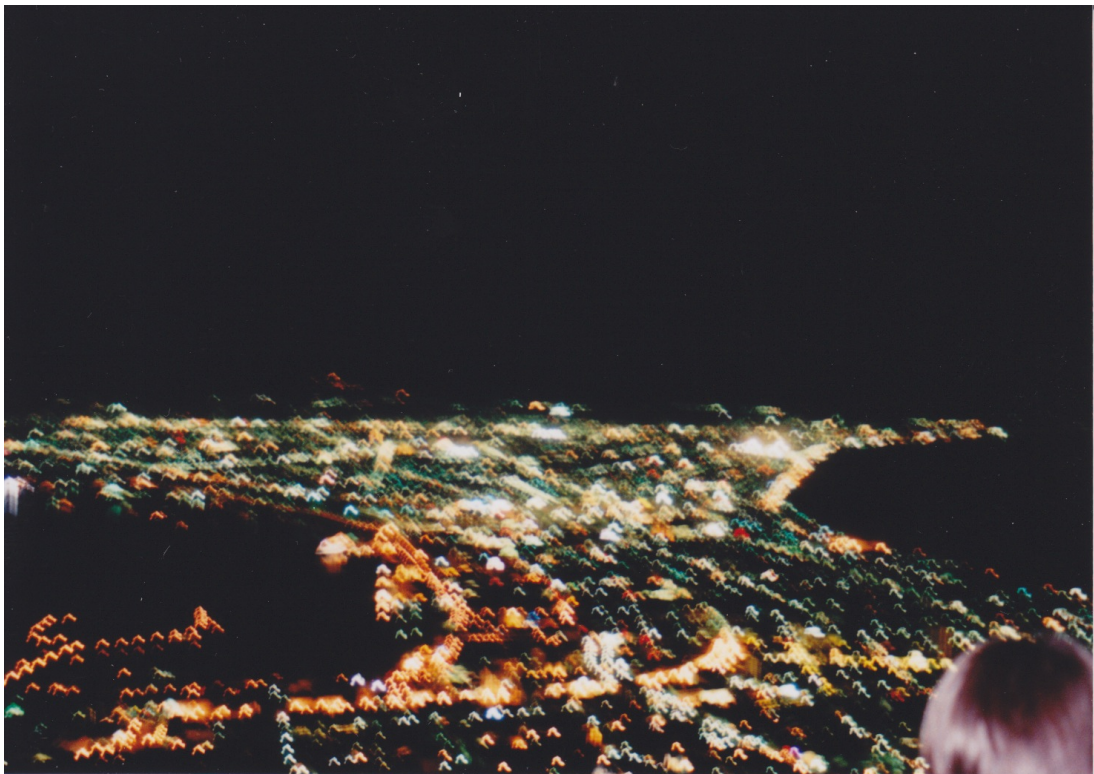


Figure 2: The second attempt.

The next day Sarah and I stopped by a *purikura* photo booth. We posed in front of the blank backdrop, and then we were prompted to select one of five scenes of Hakodate. Within moments we each had a postcard featuring our smiling faces superimposed over a professional photograph of the city, with a crisp network of lights, and swirling, deep blues in the sky, clouds, ocean, and distant mountain range.



Figure 3: Souvenir postcard from the *purikura* photo booth in Hakodate, depicting in the background the night view from the same observation deck on Mount Hakodate.

I had felt compelled to take a few photos as a keepsake of my visit to Hakodate, and the resulting images had some documentary value, for we were indeed sharing the view with all those other people. When I look at those photos, I am viscerally reminded of the heat and humidity of the summer night, and the unusual muted hum that can only be produced by a crowd of strangers milling about in the darkness together. The photos were both a representation and a trace of that experience. Despite this, the postcard better reproduces my memory of having been able to see the lights, ocean, sky, and mountains just as they

appear in the postcard. My memory is clearer than the view that is imprinted on my own photographs. My experience of the place, my memory of it, and my attempts at representing that experience may be parallel and complementary to each other, but they do not precisely align.

Although it was a complete fabrication, I valued the postcard as evidence of having visited the famous site, for it replicates my being there, as though we had stood against the railing while someone took our picture. But that view of our faces and those of the scenery never “really” existed. They were recorded at different times, and at different places. Each record—the professional photograph, the photos that I took myself, and the shot of Sarah and me in the *purikura* booth—represents a difference instance, and all of those instances took place over a period much longer than the moment in which a single photograph is taken, extending to at least a few days, but likely much longer, since it is uncertain when the professional photograph of Hakodate was taken.

This is what travel is. It is an amalgamation of places and moments seen through the filter of culture, experience, memory, and representation. “Traveler” is a role that we take on when we leave our homes and go to another place. But the place is almost never entirely new, because there tends to be something that draws us there, whether this is its renown for a certain landscape view, a famous food, or for its association with some historical figure. A journey is the process of going to the place, experiencing it through all of the senses, and then making representations of that place in some way, whether as memories, as photographs, paintings, diary entries, or otherwise.

The same was true for travelers in Japan of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. While there were certainly different notions of geography, fame, sensory experience, and

representation, travel was essentially a process of leaving the familiar and going along a road to a novel place. The reasons for travel were as varied as the places visited, and the resulting types of representations were even more diverse. In the pages that follow, I will set out to read a few examples of these representations of travel, and in doing so, I hope to arrive at some conclusions about travel and geography that will contribute to a fuller understanding of this universal act.

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations of Modern Serial Editions

<i>GR</i>	<i>Gunsho ruijû</i> 群書類従, 29 vols. (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijû Kanseikai 1959-1960).
<i>NKBZ</i>	<i>Nihon koten bungaku zenshû</i> 日本古典文学全集, 60 vols. (Tokyo: Shôgakukan, 1970-1976).
<i>NKBT</i>	<i>Nihon koten bungaku taikai</i> 新日本古典文学大系, 102 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957-1968)
<i>SNKBZ</i>	<i>Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshû</i> 新編日本古典文学全集 (Tokyo: Shôgakukan, 1994-).
<i>SNKBT</i>	<i>Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai</i> 新日本古典文学大系 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1990-).
<i>ZGR</i>	<i>Zoku gunsho ruijû</i> 続群書類従, 37 vols. (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijû Kanseikai 1959-1960).

Abbreviations of Primary Texts and Translations

<i>Tsuto</i>	<i>Miyako no tsuto</i> 都のつと by Sôkyû, ca. 1350. Fukuda Hideichi, ed. In Nagasaki et al., eds., <i>Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshû</i> , Vol. 48: <i>Chûsei nikki kikô shû</i> , Shogakkan, 1994.
<i>Souvenirs</i>	<i>Souvenirs for the Capital</i> , translation of <i>Miyako no tsuto</i> , Appendix B of this dissertation.
<i>Kuchizusami</i>	<i>Ojima no kuchizusami</i> 小島の口ずさみ by Nijô Yoshimoto, 1353. Fukuda Hideichi, ed. In Fukuda et al., eds., <i>Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai</i> , Vol. 51: <i>Chûsei nikki kikô shû</i> , Iwanami Shoten, 1990.
<i>Solace of Words</i>	<i>Solace of Words at Ojima</i> , translation of <i>Ojima no kuchizusami</i> ,

Appendix C of this dissertation.

<i>Môde</i>	<i>Sumiyoshi môde no ki</i> 住吉詣記 attributed to Ashikaga Yoshiakira, 1364.
<i>Pilgrimage</i>	<i>A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi</i> , translation of <i>Sumiyoshi môde no ki</i> , Appendix D of this dissertation.
<i>Fuji Viewing journals</i>	The three extant diaries from Ashikaga Yoshinori's trip to Suruga province to view Mount Fuji in 1432: <i>Ran Fuji ki</i> 覧富士記 (<i>A Record of Viewing Fuji</i>) by Gyôkô, <i>Fuji kikô</i> 富士紀行 (<i>Record of a Journey to Fuji</i>) by Asukai Masayo, and <i>Fuji goran nikki</i> 富士御覧日記 (<i>Diary of Viewing Fuji</i>), attributed to Imagawa Norimasa.

Abbreviations of Reference Materials

<i>KD</i>	<i>Kokushi daijiten</i> 国史大辞典 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1979-1997)
<i>NKD</i>	<i>Nihon kokugo daijiten</i> 日本国語大辞典 (Tokyo: Shôgakkan, 2000-2002)
<i>NWD</i>	<i>Nichibunken waka database</i> 日文研和歌データベース, Kokusai Nihon bunka kenkyû sentaa 国際日本文化研究センター (http://db.nichibun.ac.jp/ja/)
<i>SKT</i>	<i>Shinpen kokka taikan</i> 新編国歌大観 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1983-)
<i>UCD</i>	<i>Waka no utamakura chimei daijiten</i> 和歌の歌枕地名大辞典 (Tokyo: Ôfûsha, 2008)
<i>UD</i>	<i>Utakotoba utamakura daijiten</i> 歌詞歌枕大辞典 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1999)
<i>WD</i>	<i>Waka daijiten</i> 和歌大辞典 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1986)

Abbreviations of Major Source Texts for Medieval Travel Journals

These are the texts that are most frequently cited in the travel journals examined in this dissertation. Most of them are major works, but I include here one lesser-known poetic anthology, *Utamakura nayose*, because of indications in *Souvenirs for the Capital* that

Sôkyû was aware of this collection or something like it. See below for a list of the imperial poetic anthologies, another important source for these travel journals.

- MYS* *Man'yôshû* 万葉集 (*Collection for Ten Thousand Generations*).
Collection of about 4,500 poems from the seventh and eighth centuries, compiled by Ôtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (718-785), completed in 759.
- K* *Kojiki* 古事記 (*Record of Ancient Matters*), a collection of 113 songs in three scrolls of accounts about deities and emperors as a history of Japan through the early seventh century, completed in 712.
- NS* *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (*Chronicles of Japan*), a collection of 131 songs in thirty scrolls offering a history and genealogical account of the emperors of Japan, completed in 720.
- Ise* *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 (*Tales of Ise*), a collection of poems by or otherwise attributed to Ariwara no Narhira 在原業平 (825-880), contextualized with prose passages.
- WR* *Wakan rôishû* 和漢朗詠集 (*Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing*), a collection of poems by Chinese and Japanese poets. The two scrolls include 588 Chinese poems (*shi* 詩) and 216 Japanese poems (*waka* 和歌). Compiled by Fujiwara no Kintô 藤原公任 (966-1041), ca. 1018.
- Genji* *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (*Tale of Genji*), a poetic tale written by Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 (?972-?1014), includes almost 800 poems in its fifty-four chapters. Although there is evidence that some chapters circulated among readers as Murasaki wrote, making it a serialized novel of sorts, all of the chapters extant today were completed by the early eleventh century.
- UN* *Utamakura nayose* 歌枕名寄 (*Collection of the Names of Utamakura*), compiled between 1312-1336, editor and/or patron unknown. The *Utamakura nayose* includes about 7,000 poems that feature famous place names. The poems are drawn from a variety of poetic sources, ranging from the *Man'yôshû* to contemporaneous imperial and private collections. The *Utamakura nayose* is the earliest extant example of a poetic collection arranged according to geography, rather than in the conventional format of the imperial collections.
- FZ* *Fukuro zôshi* 袋草子 (*A Satchel of Notebooks*) is a collection of poetic criticism and commentary by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke 藤原清輔 (1104-1177), completed in 1159. The entries are written in an anecdotal style.

JKS *Jikkinshô* 十訓抄 (*Record of Ten Lessons*) is a collection of tales about Chinese and Japanese poetry divided into ten types, completed in 1252. The compiler is unknown, but there are theories that it is by Sugawara no Tamenaga 菅原為長 (1158-1246) or by Yuasa Munenari 湯浅宗業 (b. 1195) who was known as Novice Rokuhara Nirôzaemon 六波羅二臈左衛門入道.

Abbreviations of Imperial Poetic Anthologies¹

No.; Abbreviation	Title; No. of Books/Poems	Notes	Date ordered / completed
1 <i>KKS</i>	<i>Kokinshû</i> 古今集 20 / 1,111	Ordered by Emperor Daigo 醍醐天皇 (885-930, r. 897-930). Chief compiler, Ki no Tsurayuki. <i>Kana</i> Preface by Ki no Tsurayuki; <i>Mana</i> Preface by Ki no Yoshimochi.	905 / 914
2 <i>GS</i>	<i>Go senshû</i> 後撰集 20 / 1,426	Ordered by Emperor Murakami 村上天皇 (926-967, r. 946-967).	951 / 953
3 <i>SS</i>	<i>Shûishû</i> 拾遺集 20 / 1,351	Ordered by Retired Emperor Kazan 花山院 (968-1008, r. 984-986). Original draft by Fujiwara Kintô 藤原公任 (966-1041); date and editor of present collection is unknown.	ca. 1005-07 / ?
4 <i>GSS</i>	<i>Go shûishû</i> 後拾遺集 20 / 1,220	Ordered by Emperor Shirakawa 白河天皇 (1053-1129, r. 1072-1086). Chief compiler and author of <i>Kana</i> Preface, Fujiwara Michitoshi 藤原通俊 (1047-1099).	1075 / 1086
5 <i>KYS</i>	<i>Kin'yôshû</i> 金葉集 10 / 716	Ordered by Retired Emperor Shirakawa. Compiled by Minamoto no Shunrai 源俊賴 (1055?-1129?).	1124 / 1127
6 <i>SKS</i>	<i>Shikashû</i> 詞花集	Ordered by Retired Emperor Sutoku 崇徳院 (1119-1164, r. 1123-1141). Compiled by	1144 / ca. 1154

¹ The following table is based on information from *Bungaku daijiten*, *Waka daijiten*, *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, and *Kokushi daijiten*. See Brower and Miner 1961 for a discussion of these anthologies in English.

	10 / 411	Fujiwara Akisuke 藤原顕輔 (1090-1155).	
7 SZS	<i>Senzaishû</i> 千載衆 20 / 1,288	Ordered by Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河院 (1127-1192, r. 1155-1158). Chief compiler and author of Kana Preface, Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114-1204).	1183 / 1187
8 SKKS	<i>Shin kokinshû</i> 新古今集 20 / 1,981	Ordered by Retired Emperor Go-Toba 後鳥羽院 (1180-1239, r. 1183-1158). Chief compiler, Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241).	1201 / 1206
9 SCS	<i>Shin chokusenshû</i> 新勅撰集 20 / 1,374	Ordered by Retired Emperor Go-Horikawa 後堀河天皇 (1212-1234, r. 1221-1232). Chief compiler and author of Kana Preface, Fujiwara no Teika.	1232 / 1235
10 ZGS	<i>Shoku gosenshû</i> 続後選集 20 / 1,368	Ordered by Retired Emperor Go-Saga 後嵯峨院 (1220-1272, r. 1242-1246). Compiled by Fujiwara no Tameie 藤原為家 (1198-1275) of the Nijô school of poetry.	1248 / 1251
11 ZKKS	<i>Shoku kokinshû</i> 続古今集 20 / 1925	Ordered by Retired Emperor Go-Saga; chief compiler, Tameie with four others from the Nijô school.	1259 / 1265
12 ZSS	<i>Shoku shûishû</i> 続拾遺集 20 / 1,461	Ordered by Retired Emperor Kameyama 龜山院 (1249-1305, r. 1259-1274). Compiled by Fujiwara no Tameuji 藤原為氏 (1222-1286) of the Nijô school.	1276 / 1278
13 SGS	<i>Shin gosenshû</i> 新後撰集 20 / 1,606	Ordered by Retired Emperor Go-Uda 後宇多院 (1267-1324, r. 1274-1287). Compiled by Nijô Tameyo Fujiwara line 二条為世 (1250-1338) of the Nijô school.	1301 / 1303
14 GYS	<i>Gyokuyôshû</i> 玉葉衆 20 / 2,796	Ordered by Retired Emperor Fushimi 伏見院 (1265-1317, r. 1287-1298). Compiled by Kyôgoku Tamekane 京極為兼 (1254-1332) of the Fujiwara line and Kyôgoku-Reizei school of poetry.	1311 / 1312
15 ZSZS	<i>Shoku senzaishû</i>	Ordered by Retired Emperor Go-Uda. Compiled by Fujiwara Tameyo. See <i>Shin</i>	1318 / 1320

	続千載集 20 / 2,159	<i>gosenshû</i> (no. 13).	
16 ZGSS	<i>Shoku goshûishû</i> 続後拾遺集 20 / 1,347	Ordered by Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐天皇 (1288-1339, r. 1318-1339). Compilation begun by Nijô Tamefuji 二条為藤 (1276-1324) and completed by Nijô Tamesada 二条為定 (1293-1360), both of the Nijô school of poetry.	1323 / 1326
17 FS	<i>Fûgashû</i> 風雅集 20 / 2,210	Ordered by Retired Emperor Kôgon 光厳院 (1313-1364, r. 1331-1333), possibly at the request of the Ashikaga Bakufu. Chief compiler, Retired Emperor Hanazono 花園院 (1297-1349, r. 1308-1318) of the Kyôgoku-Reizei school.	1343 / 1346
18 SSZS	<i>Shin senzaishû</i> 新千載集 20 / 2,364	Ordered by Emperor Go-Kôgon 後光厳天皇 (1338-1374, r. 1352-1371) at the request of first Ashikaga shogun, Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305-1358, r. 1338-1358). Compiled by Nijô Tamesada. See <i>Shoku goshûishû</i> (no. 16).	1356 / 1359
19 SSS	<i>Shin shûishû</i> 新拾遺集 20 / 1,920	Ordered by Emperor Go-Kôgon at the request of second Ashikaga shogun, Yoshiakira 足利義詮 (1330-1367, r. 1358-1367). Compilation begun by Nijô Tameaki 二条為明 (d. 1364) and completed by Priest Ton'a 頓阿 (1289-1372).	1363 / 1364
20 SGSS	<i>Shin goshûishû</i> 新後拾遺集 20 / 1,554	Ordered by Emperor Go-En'yû 後円融天皇 (1358-1393, r. 1371-1382), at the request of the third Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimitsu (1358-1408, r. 1368-1394). Compilation begun by Nijô Tametô 二条為遠 (1341-1381) and completed by Nijô Tameshige 二条為重 (1325-1385). <i>Kana</i> Preface by Nijô Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320-1388).	1375 / 1384
21 SZKKS	<i>Shinshoku kokinshû</i> 新続古今集 20 / 2,144	Ordered by Emperor Go-Hanazono 後花園天皇 (1297-1348, r. 1308-1318), at the request of the sixth Ashikaga shogun, Yoshinori 足利義教 (1394-1441, r. 1429-1441). Compiled by Asukai Masayo 飛鳥井雅世 (1390-1452) and <i>Kana</i> and <i>Mana</i> Prefaces by Ichijô Kanera.	1433 / 1439

Abstract

The first decades of the fourteenth century in Japan saw the failure of the Kamakura shogunate, a rupture in the centuries-old system of imperial succession, and a series of shifting allegiances among the rising Ashikaga warriors of the Northern Court and their political rivals in the Southern Court. Against this backdrop, pausing to take in a landscape view and to compose a poem about it strikes one as a relatively benign endeavor. However, in travel journals by elite members of the Northern Court, this was in fact a project of vital importance—establishing an authoritative link to the land and to past rulers in order to legitimize potential claims to political and military power.

In a selection of travel journals that I translate and analyze in my dissertation, *Aesthetics of Space: Representations of Travel in Medieval Japan*, famous place names were a means of accessing past literary and historical figures by recalling canonical poems and other texts. The notion of the famous place is central to travel writing at this time: the more often a place name appeared in the literary canon, the more important a destination for travel and topic of poetry it became. The famous place is not a stable or homogeneous site that exists continuously through history, although its name appears to do just that. Rather it is the traveler represented in the pages of the journal that constitutes both place and name in the body's presence at each site, in making pointed inquiries into the names associated with the site, and in the use of repetition and formula for representing those sites in prose and poetry.

Close literary analysis firmly rooted in the historical context of the journals' production shows how, for these fourteenth-century political elites, traveling and producing a record of the journey is a performance and a political act, regardless of the traveler's proposed motivations. The literary structure of the medieval poetic travel journal works to promote an idealized sociopolitical geography, an imagined future so to speak, by selectively drawing from a constructed past. In this way, travel was an act of inscribing new maps on the landscape, and the resulting textual representations of those landscapes promoted an explicit historical ideology to establish alternate lineages for imperial succession in a new age.

Chapter 1

Introduction

When an army from the Southern Court in Yoshino attacked Kyoto in the summer of 1353, Emperor Go-Kôgon 後光厳天皇 (1338-1374, r. 1352-1371) and his supporters were forced to flee the imperial palace of what was then the capital, where they had established their Northern Court with the support of Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305-1358, r. 1338-1358). Go-Kôgon and his men took refuge in Ojima, a remote town in the landholding of a provincial governor sympathetic to Takauji's cause. Nijô Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320-1388), then regent to the emperor, was unable to travel because of an illness, but he set out to join the imperial party about a month later, in the seventh month of 1353. In his journal, *Solace of Words at Ojima* (*Ojima no kuchizusami* 小島の口ずさみ 1353), Yoshimoto describes the famous places that he passes as he hurries along the road to Ojima. The following is the series of places through which Yoshimoto passes just before arriving at his destination:

All that remained of the Fuwa Barrier, already in ruins, were bits of a door and its frame. It looked indeed as though it could not even stand up to an autumn wind.

mukashi dani
arenishi fuwa no
seki nareba
ima wa sanagara
na nomi narikeri

Because it was already
in ruins long ago, Fuwa,
the indestructible barrier—
such as it is, now,
it is only a name

The name of the river Fujikawa of the Barrier, too, is full of memories, and so we made sure to ask about it. Though its name is quite famous, it is in truth nothing more than a small river, and one couldn't tell that it had been flowing for a myriad ages.

Nonetheless, the many examples of times in which it continued to flow were very reassuring.

sate mo naho	Even in this state
shizumanu na wo ya	I would that your name
todomemashi	will ever remain
kakaru fuchise no	just as these pools and shallows have—
Seki no Fujikawa	Fujikawa of the Barrier

When I heard that Mount Oyama at Mino and such places were close to the area around Ojima, today, finally, my mood settled a bit, knowing that my destination was not far. The famed Lone Pine, which resembles its name, has, like the august mountain, remained as it always had been. Why had I not inquired and listened more closely to the stories of the common locals about the reason for these traces having remained unchanged? I regretted it long afterwards.

ukarikeru	Worn and weary,
Mino no Oyama no	like the waiting pine
matsu goto mo	on the august mountain itself,
geni tagui naki	Oyama of Mino yet stands
yo no tameshi kana	a matchless example in the world

Thus, taking five or six days to traverse a road of two or three days travel, at long last we arrived at Ojima. The scene was that of an unfamiliar place, with mountains rising high to the right and left, around which clouds hung thickly, without any clear sky showing through. Indeed, “If there is anything that is so incomparably poignant, it is this place.”¹

Each of the names that Yoshimoto mentions—the Fuwa Barrier, Fujikawa of the Barrier, Mino no Oyama, and the Lone Pine—was already a famous place in his day. Yoshimoto knows where they are, and so expects to come across them while he is on the road. When he does, he then makes a reference to a canonical poem about each place.

At the Fuwa Barrier, for example, Yoshimoto gestures toward a poem by Fujiwara Yoshitsune 藤原良経 (1169-1206) that is anthologized in *Shin kokinshû* Miscellaneous II, poem no. 1601:

¹ All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted. Yoshimoto quotes from the “Suma” Chapter of the *Genji*, in which the sound of the wind overwhelms Genji with its sadness during his sleepless first night at his temporary lodgings in Suma: “If there is anything that is so incomparably poignant, it is autumn in this place” (*SNKBT* 20: 31).

hito sumanu
Fuwa no Sekiya no
itabisashi
arenishi ato ha
tada aki no kaze

Deserted—
the wooden eaves
of the Fuwa Barrier station
after the rack and ruin
inhabited only by the autumn wind

Fujiwara Yoshitsune
NWD

In the context of Yoshitsune's old poem, Yoshimoto's phrase "already in ruins" becomes an immediate reference to the time when Yoshitsune was active, in the late twelfth century. From Yoshimoto's perspective in the mid-fourteenth century, this was a time long past, and yet even then the Fuwa Barrier had been long out of use. Because of this and other such old poems on the Fuwa Barrier, it has not only become a famous name, but one associated with the seasonal image of the autumn wind, which resonates with the barrier station in such a state of decline. As with the case of the Fuwa Barrier, nearly every place name in the poetic canon carries with it a set of imagery that is specific not only to the site it designates, but also specific to the conventions of how that place has been represented in text and image.

The above example demonstrates that the famous place—the *utamakura* 歌枕 or *meisho* 名所—is a place that derives its fame from its frequent use in poetry and other types of representation. As the component of fame in the terms suggests, the notion of the *place* in cultural production is inextricably tied to its *name*. To write about traveling to a place is to recall and meditate upon the ways in which its name has been used in the past. Likewise, to use a name in a poem is to signify the geographical place it indicates, whether or not the poet has ever "actually" been there. In cultural production from the seventh and eighth centuries through the medieval periods and beyond, the famous place has been central both to travel writing and to poetic composition: the more often the

name of a famous place appeared in the canon, the more important a destination for travel and topic of poetry it became.

In *Solace of Words*, above, Yoshimoto cites an old poem about each famous place. Such citations include just a line or a few words of the old poem, either in poetry, as *honkadori* 本歌取, or in prose, as *hikiuta* 引歌. In addition to this, he makes empirical observations about the landscape, as well as other comments about its history or his reactions to viewing the scene before him. In the case of the Lone Pine on Mount Oyama at Mino, Yoshimoto observes briefly that the pine “resembles its name.” He indicates a poem from the early Heian period when he writes that the scene has continued apparently unchanged through the centuries, and then he acknowledges that there certainly exists a local history of the place, even as he declares his ignorance of it.² After thus establishing the context in the prose introduction, or *kotobagaki* 詞書, he composes his own poem on the place.

It is this formula that makes up *Solace of Words* and virtually every other travel journal from this time: a prose introduction is paired with one or more poems, and each prose – poem passage focuses on a famous place before moving rapidly on to the next.

² The old poem is by Lady Ise 伊勢 (active early Heian), and anthologized in *SKKS*, Love V, no. 1408:

omohiizu ya	Remember!
Mino no Oyama no	The promise you made
Hitotsumatsu	with the single pine
chigirishi kotoba	at Mino no Oyama—
itsumo wasurezu	I never will forget

Lady Ise
NWD

Even by declining to ask about the history of the famous place, Yoshimoto is making a statement about it nonetheless. For a discussion about Yoshimoto’s ambivalent attitude toward certain famous place names in *Solace of Words*, see Chapter 2.

The same formula of prose – poem is repeated with each new place that the traveler visits, such that the text, when it is written, becomes a representation of the road upon which the traveler walks. The text represents the road in the sense that it organizes geographic space in a systematic way: just as a map labels where certain places are in geographic relation to others, the narrative of moving from one place to the next situates each place in relation to the others, not only spatially, but temporally as well.

In addition to this, the travel journal text represents the road in the sense that it recreates for the reader the experience of traveling from one famous place to the next. The formulaic repetition of prose – poem passages suggests the monotony of travel by foot, in which the landscape passes so slowly that any changes in it become all but indistinguishable. In the end, the scenery is only broken up by the traveler's arrival at the next famous place, whereupon a new passage in the text begins. In a reflection of this, the travel journal text was conventionally written after the traveler's completion of the journey and return home. It is the distinct moments of arrival at the famous places that stand out in the mind of a fatigued traveler. Likewise for the reader, the monotony and homogeneity of the road is reconstructed in a reading of the formulaic text, and this is punctuated by moments of engagement with a string of famous places, one after another.

In this way, the travel journal text becomes a performance of the journey. In this study, performance is the notion that speech is an act, in the sense of the performative utterance in J. L. Austin's *How to Do Things with Words* (1962). Elaborating on his theory that "to say something is to do something" (12), Austin identifies two types of performative utterances: the illocutionary, in which the utterance carries out the act, as in ordering someone to do something; and the perlocutionary, in which the utterance results

in a consequence that takes place after the fact, as in persuading someone to do something (109-120). The idea is that the consequence is simultaneous to the illocutionary utterance, and temporally distinct from the perlocutionary utterance.

Both types of performative statement are present in the travel writing of this time. For example, in the passage at Fujikawa of the Barrier, above, Yoshimoto notes, “The name of the river Fujikawa of the Barrier, too, is full of memories.” This statement uses the famous name to immediately identify an important site in the landscape, and to simultaneously manifest its rich historical and literary context. Second, by composing a poem petitioning that the name of his emperor “will ever remain / just as these pools and shallows have,” Yoshimoto gives voice to a desirable outcome in terms of his current sociopolitical situation. In doing so Yoshimoto enacts his designs for an ideal future in which Emperor Go-Kôgon is linked to the land as ruler (achieving political power during his lifetime), and becomes a celebrated name in his own right (achieving historical renown for sociopolitical success). Whether or not these desired outcomes are realized has no effect on the performativity of Yoshimoto’s statement, in part because of the necessary temporal gap between the statement and its potential consequences.

It is also important to note that Austin includes written inscriptions in these definitions of speech acts. Specifically, Austin identifies a signed text as a type of performance:

“You are warned that the bull is dangerous” is equivalent to “I, John Jones, warn you that the bull is dangerous” or
This bull is dangerous.
(Signed) John Jones. (62)

This is not to presume intentionality in the text, but simply to recognize that the performative aspect of language is not limited to a voiced utterance. Significantly

Yoshimoto's *Solace of Words* is again representative of travel writing of this time in that it concludes with a discussion of the process of writing the journal:

Thinking that events in the world such as these, with so few precedents, would become the matter of tales for posterity, I have written them down, just as they happened, in those spare moments while spending the nights on the road. Determined not to forget them, I have jotted them down on scrap paper torn from the margins of tissue paper and such, and in far from presentable form. It is common to be unable to forget things that have passed. So why should not these meager leaves of words from my brush turn into the seeds for grasses of remembrance?

In bringing the constructed and ephemeral nature of both the text and human memory to the fore, such a closing acts as a kind of signature: it makes the reader aware of the the entire journal as a performative statement.

Within the framework of the text as a performance, the famous place is contingent upon performative identification through naming and poetic composition. A place exists by being recognized and named. But even before that, the place must also be recognizable to begin with. In the case of the famous place in cultural construction, the repetition of the name, together with the poetic imagery repeatedly associated with that name, provides the sociocultural weight necessary for making the place name and the place recognizable. As Judith Butler (1997) points out about the moment of the performative utterance,

the illocutionary speech act performs its deed at the moment of the utterance, and yet to the extent that the moment is ritualized, it is never merely a single moment. The 'moment' in ritual is a condensed historicity: it exceeds itself in past and future directions, an effect of prior and future invocations that constitute and escape the instance of utterance. (3)

In this way, place is neither continuously stable nor homogeneous, and is always construed by the bodily presence of the traveler. In the most basic sense, the famous

place exists only as a result of the traveler going there, identifying it by name, and composing a poem.

The travel journal is a performative act of travel that not only construes the site itself, but also constitutes agency on the part of the traveler. That is, travel is a conscious move out of and away from an established center, and into a peripheral space, as in Victor Turner's theory of pilgrimage as discussed in *Process, Performance, and Pilgrimage* (1979). Generally speaking, in the Japan of the fourteenth century, this was applicable to any journey that took the traveler away from the capital, regardless of the reasons or destinations. In this sense it is comparable to an act of pilgrimage in which the traveler enters into a liminal space. In the first place, entering into the peripheral allows the traveler to assert authority in a way that would otherwise be beyond reach within the social structure of the imperial court. This is analogous with Turner's concept of entering into the liminal as a space of transgression. As a peripheral space that contains famous sites, however, the area outside of the "center" is not homogenous, neither is it entirely generic or anonymous.

Moreover, interacting with the context of famous places within that periphery allows the traveler to establish direct association with a wide range of predecessors, whether these are deities or literary and historical figures. In this way, the context, which I will here call the aura of a famous place, provides access to an alternate lineage of idealized figures that in many cases may be out of reach to the traveler in the conventional roles of the social structure. By "conventional roles" I suggest the day-to-day markers of one's existence in which one has little control, if any, over the institutions of class, family lineage, poetic school, religious sect, and so on. Watanabe Yumiko, in a

study on the role of topics in poetic composition during the medieval era, has shown that poets were adept at shifting between such sociopolitical categories as gender, social status, and environment, in order to respond to a given topic.

These roles are constantly changing and overlapping for an active member of the imperial court such as Yoshimoto, and in this viewpoint “traveler” is simply another role that he takes up and enacts upon the event of a journey. But “traveler” is one type of role that can only be enacted from outside of the social structure of the imperial court. The traveler’s performance thus underlies the journey in travel writing. At the same time, the performance perpetuates and explains these representations of travel, and they become constructions of geography and authority in the time in which they are created.

Ultimately, the passages from *Solace of Words* combine different performances of travel. There is the performance that is enacted in the text, in which the traveler’s movement through and interactions with landscape is represented with words. There is also the performance that is enacted by the reader of the text. That is, when we read the text, we perform the textual journey anew by manifesting images of the landscapes and looking over them with our mind’s eye. Interwoven with these two types of textual performances is the idea of a bodily performance. The journal format, especially when it is consumed together with other historical evidence that supports the information in its pages, seems to encourage us to believe that there was an “actual” series of events that took place, in which the historical figure of Nijō Yoshimoto stopped to view and ponder such landscapes as Fuwa Barrier and the Lone Pine as he made his way to join Emperor Go-Kōgon in Ojima.

Of course there is no concrete knowledge of such events, no trace of any original performance. Although a historical Yoshimoto may have at one point recited his poem aloud while standing before the ruins of the Fuwa Barrier, the performance would have been over within moments, forever after impossible to access. Even if there were such a thing as an original reality underlying the words of this journal, it would be all but erased by the simple materiality of textual representation, which by definition opens a gap between itself and such an idea as original intention or reality. Nonetheless, the journal, with its redundant format of lingering over a place name in a poem and then moving on toward the next place name in the prose, is written in such a way as to conjure up that very image of a traveler progressing from place to place, pausing to look with focus at places of greater emotional draw, and hurrying inattentive through wide swaths of land that held less significance.

As a result, there is another more slippery sort of performance that manifests when we read the text. It is the image, which forms in the reader's imagination, of some version of the historical Yoshimoto making his journey in a distant past, stopping to look, and reciting a poem in an emotional response to what he sees in the landscape and what he knows about the place from its name. This third kind of performance is enacted by the reader but unconsciously attributed, through the persona of the traveler represented in the text, to the idea of the historical traveler. It is this last type of performance that is so enchanting in its promise of an underlying reality, and that is so powerful in its ability to gesture toward a vanished past while simultaneously projecting into an unknowable future.

Travel Writing and “Medieval Travel Journals”

The common term in English language scholarship, “poetic travel diaries,” is useful in its identification of its three most prominent features: the format that combines poems with prose introductions; travel as the organizing element of the work; and the recording of events from a first-person perspective combined with reactions to those events. In this dissertation I use the term “travel journal” however, to highlight the process of writing—and therefore active selection and editing of the content that is ultimately included, all based on an identifiable writer’s decisions, conscious or otherwise—without fetishizing the autobiographical element implied in the term “diary.”

As we have seen in the example of Yoshimoto’s *Solace of Words* above, the format of the travel journal combines prose passages with poems, and the vast majority of poems are composed with a famous place name as its topic. Within this narrative formula, there is a certain amount of variation in tone and content. Some, like *Solace of Words*, feature lengthy prose descriptions of historic events or legends, while others, like Gyôkô’s *A Diary of Viewing Fuji*, limit the prose introduction to little more than the date, place name, and weather. In some cases, the spiritual goals are the principal theme of the journal, as in Sôkyû’s *Souvenirs for the Capital* or Ashikaga Yoshiakira’s *Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi*, while others have an overtly sociopolitical tone, as does Yoshimoto’s *Ojima*.

Two of the most common Japanese terms for “travel writing” today, *kikôbun* 紀行文 and *kikô bungaku* 紀行文学, are modern academic designations. This is not to suggest a lack of awareness about travel in premodern cultural production, however. As such *Man’yôshû* scholars as Hiroko Noda (1995) show, travel was an important theme in the earliest examples of Japanese poetry from the seventh century onward. Formal topic

designations for poems about travel begin to appear in poetry events throughout the Heian period, and these topics were applied noticeably in the imperial anthologies, most of which included at least one book devoted entirely to poems about “travel” (*tabi* 旅, *kiryo* 羈旅) or “parting” (*ribetsu* 離別), if not both. In addition to this, place names (*utamakura*) began to take an increasingly important place in the study and practice of poetic composition from the early Heian onward, and such priests as Nôin 能因 (b. 988) and Saigyô 西行 (11189-1190) became famous not only for their extensive wandering, but also for their poems about travel and famous places.

In addition to *tabi*, another word for “journey,” *kikô* 紀行, was used as a title for travel accounts, and also within the journals themselves as the name for what these travelers were doing. Other terms that appear commonly in titles include “diary” (*nikki* 日記) or “record” (*ki* 記), often in conjunction with the name of the primary destination or the region through which the traveler progressed. There were also versions of a term for “road” (*ji* 路, *michi* 道, *michiyuki* 道行) and “souvenir” (*tsuto* つと or *miyage* みやげ). The phrase “imperial outing” (*gokôki* 御幸記) is common in cases of travel by an acting or retired emperor. Finally, various terms for “pilgrimage” (*mode* 詣, *sankei* 参詣) emphasize the destination as an important religious institution.

While many of these words appear in the earliest manuscripts of extant travel journals, it is important to note that the titles in particular were susceptible to alteration, particularly in the early modern period when these older texts were being revised in addition to being collected and published. Early terms used specifically for medieval travel journals were therefore developed through early modern publishing practices.

Important early literary anthologies that grouped such travel journals into books include *Fusô shûyô shû* 扶桑拾葉集 (Tokugawa Mitsukuni 1693), and *Gunsho ruijû* 群書類従 (late Edo, 1779-1819). There are also examples of anthologies devoted specifically to travel journals: *Shirin ikô shû* 詞林意行集 is a collection of travel journals from the medieval period and onward that was published in 1690 by Miyagawa Dôtatsu 宮川道達 (d. 1701), and *Sôko* 桑弧 is another, published by Yûtoku Inari Jinja Nakagawa Bunko 祐徳稲荷神社中川文庫 in 1694.

Needless to say, modern scholarship has also inflected our view and understanding of what a travel journal is, and how it should be presented or approached. Fukuda Hideichi has been foundational in developing scholarship on “medieval travel literature” (*chûsei kikô bungaku* 中世紀行文学) in Japanese and English alike.³ To judge from Fukuda’s comprehensive list of roughly sixty extant medieval travel journal texts, a travel journal is a diary that describes domestic travel, includes both poetry and prose, is written in the vernacular *kana* 仮名, is not illustrated, and can be read as

³ Fukuda, who also collaborated extensively with Herbert Plutschow, is credited with establishing the genre as an important field of study in Japanese literary scholarship. Likewise in English language scholarship, at the time of Fukuda and Plutschow’s *Four Japanese Travel Diaries* (1981), the titles available in English translation were quite limited, consisting of only six texts. Since these works, and a comprehensive introduction to the genre by Plutschow in 1982, English language scholarship on travel journals has tended to be brief and generalized, primarily discussions meant to introduce the genre. Through the work of such scholars as Karen Brazell (1973), Mack Horton (2002), and Sonja Arntzen (2014), certain individual travel journals have enjoyed more attention in the last decade, but the topic of travel writing before 1600 remains largely unexplored, even though there are some sixty extant texts identified specifically as travel journals, and many more relevant texts, as shown above.

autobiographical.⁴ In doing so, Fukuda has identified travel journals as distinct from more general cultural production that deals with travel and geography, including poetry, tales, drama, and visual materials. In terms of periodization, Fukuda distinguishes on the one hand from the very few examples of travel journals of the Heian period, the most famous of which is *Tosa Diary* (*Tosa nikki* 土佐日記 935, Ki no Tsurayuki); and on the other hand from those of the Edo period, which number in the hundreds, and reflect a popularization of the practice. His terminology suggests a distinct mode of writing that is directly relevant to its historical context.⁵ While this is accurate to a certain extent, Fukuda's category of "medieval travel writing" is at once too broad and too narrow.

It is too broad because the texts from the late twelfth to sixteenth centuries were produced under different circumstances. Even though the travel journals produced during

⁴ Fukuda 1975 remains the comprehensive list of travel journals. There are a few exceptions of travel journals written in the Chinese *kanbun* that was popular among male courtiers. These include two of the most famous travel journals of the Kamakura period, *Kaidôki* 海道記 (1223) and *Tôkan kikô* 東関紀行 (1242), both of which are of unknown authorship. See below for a discussion on reading diaries or travel journals as autobiographical.

⁵ By "medieval" (*chûsei* 中世), Fukuda refers to the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. Although the jurisdictional spheres of the Kamakura period were separated from the imperial palace of Kyoto, Mikael Adolphson shows that such distinctions between court and military cultures are unstable. Keeping in mind the relative fluidity of the sociopolitical changes that take place over time, and not always according to historical period, I recognize that my selection of 14th and 15th century texts echoes Jeffrey Mass (1997) by locating "medieval Japan" in the Nanbokuchô and Muromachi periods. Mass suggests that only with the changes introduced from the 1330s "had [a warrior class] broken free of the constraints of that [Heian] framework" and in many ways, inverted it (3). Mass shows that it was not until the Ashikaga (re-)established Kyoto as a political center that the worlds of aristocrat and military officer interacted and merged in any significant way until these more fundamental social and structural changes occurred. Ultimately, an important part of defining "medieval" also requires situating the philosophical and political, literary, cultural trends of the era in respect to the ages preceding and following. Thus, it will be useful to take a flexible approach to the materials used, regardless of era.

these four centuries are closely related in style and content, they function in different ways because depending on these widely varying historical contexts. The selection of texts that I examine in the present study is limited to the first century of the Ashikaga rule during the Nanbokuchô and early Muromachi periods. This represents a more accurate historical segment in that they are written by or otherwise attributed to political elites associated closely with the Ashikaga shogunate. I focus on this sociopolitical group and this time period because they reflect the multiple ways in which history and geography can be imagined, even within the context of a seemingly monolithic ideology, the political success of the Northern Court. Of the fifteen extant travel journals produced between 1340-1440, at least fourteen are by an active member of the Northern Court, and many of those deal directly with a reigning emperor or shogun. The travel journals of this time represent a social movement in which the Ashikaga bakufu and other involved members of the court were working to establish and then maintain their political authority to rule. In short, they were reimagining the ways in which the land could be organized, and history could be written. These interpretations do not apply across the board to other extant travel journals written during the Kamakura or late Muromachi periods, and therefore to group all of these texts together uncritically results in overgeneralization.

However, the category “medieval travel writing” is also too narrow because it obscures the importance of travel as a theme in cultural production on a much broader scale. In particular, Fukuda’s definition excludes numerous journals that deal with travel outside of Japan, including records of journeys to China or the Korean peninsula, or that are written in *kanbun* 漢文, Chinese used by Japanese writers. Also excluded are illustrated handscrolls (*emaki* 絵巻) about itinerant priests such as Saigyô 西行 (1118-1190) and Ippen 一遍 (1239-1289), as well as such

canonical works as the *Tales of Ise* and *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 ca. 1007).

The *Ise* and *Genji* are vital to the study of travel journals not only because they describe journeys, but because they were so commonly cited in the medieval journals themselves.⁶ Also of great importance was the poetry of wandering priests and famous exiles, not to mention the abundant travel poetry in imperial and private poetic anthologies.⁷ The collection of Chinese poems by native and Chinese poets, the *Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing* (*Wakan rôeishû* 和漢朗詠集 ca. 1017-1021) was also a common source of stories about travel during the medieval era.⁸ Finally, there is ample evidence that the travelers of medieval Japan were well versed in the ancient travel poems of the *Man'yôshû* 万葉集 (ca. 785), *Kojiki* 古事記 (712), and *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (720).⁹

⁶ Shirai Chûkô (1976) recognizes in the introduction of his study that travel writing has its roots in the *MYS*, *Ise*, *Genji*, *Tosa*, and *Sarashina nikki* 更級日記 (ca. 1060). Shirai writes, “The ‘Traveling East’ [*Azuma kudari* 東下り] section of the *Tales of Ise* is a great masterpiece of travel writing [*kikô bungaku*], and there is no telling how much it may have influenced later cultures” (1). However, this is left as an introductory comment, and the remainder of the book is devoted to travel journals of the medieval era. Noda’s study is an important contribution to how landscape and travel were characterized in the poetry of the *Man'yôshû* age. As with the studies of Fukuda and Shirai, a close examination of travel writing in the Heian and earlier falls beyond the scope of this dissertation, but the field would benefit from such a study in English.

⁷ Wandering priests include Saigyô and Nôin; exiles include Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903) and the Chinese poet and exile Bai Juyi 白居易 (J. Hakukyô or Hakushi 白氏 772-846), who was widely read in the Japanese court, and an important source for representations of travel of all kinds. imperial and private poetic anthologies here are *chokusenshû* 勅撰集 and *shikashû* 私家集, respectively. See Shirane 2007 for a discussion of how private poetic anthologies in particular are connected to the development of vernacular prose, including poetic tales (*uta monogatari* 歌物語) and poetic diaries.

⁸ See Rimer and Chaves 1997 for a full translation of the poems of *WR* into English.

⁹ See Chapters 2 and 3 for discussions of how travel journals used the poetry and geographical concepts from these ancient classics. See Cranston 1993 for translations of poetry from all three texts (*MYS*, *K*, and *NS*), many of which take up the theme of travel.

In his introduction to *Four Medieval Travel Journals* (Plutschow and Fukuda 1981), Herbert Plutschow proposes a system of classifying travel journals, in which travel diaries are either “official” or “personal.”¹⁰ This approach, while drawing some useful comparisons, proves unhelpful in other ways. Not every travel journal fits neatly into one category, and it relies upon unstable dichotomies of personal/public and official/religious, which are anachronistic and readily break down under closer inspection.¹¹ It also overlooks the common conventions of travel writing, taking the words at face value in some cases, and underestimating their historical context in others.¹²

Despite these problems, Fukuda and Plutschow’s initial approach is important because it recognizes the great diversity of texts that belong to the genre of travel writing. In so doing they move beyond simple value judgments based purely on personal preferences or on traditions

¹⁰ Plutschow’s (1981) structure resembles a continuum from official to private, with what he calls “official-group” texts and “solitary-hermit” texts occupying opposite ends of the spectrum (7). This system excludes travel journals written in *kanbun* entirely because Plutschow suggests these are historical documents, unlike what he identifies as the “literary” *kana* texts (6-7). Plutschow relies heavily on the presence or absence of poetry to define “literature,” but he also uses the terms “Japanese” and “Chinese” to mean *kana* and *kanbun* writing, respectively, even when both modes of composition are well within the rubric of a Japanese discourse.

¹¹ Consider the role of traveling poet-priests, particularly in late Muromachi, who traveled expressly to receive the support of wealthy patrons. For an important example, see Kaneko Kinjirô’s study of Sôgi in *Rengashi Sôgi no jitsuzô* (1999). Plutschow himself later acknowledges that “even these categories fail in certain ways,” but goes no further than this (Plutschow 1999, 180).

¹² On the one hand, it was a common convention to write as though the traveler was solitary, even if there is evidence of a group traveling together—we cannot assume that every “solitary” travel journal reflects the journey of one traveling alone. On the other hand, these texts are important historical documents, and recent scholarship has begun to draw from dairies, showing that there is indeed much historical truth to be gleaned from these literary texts.

within the field.¹³ By identifying superficial differences, it becomes possible to look beyond them, and to delve more deeply into issues of how and why these texts were created. For example, because there are examples of travel journals that include poems or not, or that are written in *kanbun* or *kana*, it is clear that choices about language, format, and literary convention have a significant impact on a reader's expectations. This demonstrates that language was plastic, and that there were certain assumptions about writing within certain parameters designated by the text. That is, elements of format, style, and language had an effect on how the texts were likely to be read and received.

Finally, by tracking common stylistic and compositional practices in travel writing, we can better understand how conventions of the genre developed over time, thus gaining more insight into trends or currents of travel writing—not to mention other modes of representing travel—in the larger context of Japanese history. By taking the historical context into consideration, this dissertation will show that the conventions of travel writing were frequently used to promote specific notions about historicism, political authority, and geographic space.

Making distinctions between politics and religion is anachronistic and essentially a distortion of the reality of the lives of the Ashikaga elites who were equally dependent upon the political, military, cultural, religious, and social spheres of their world for the maintenance of their positions. But even if this were not the case, it is meaningless to approach a journal differently based entirely upon whether it is written in *kana* script or

¹³ I refer primarily here to Keene's *Travelers of a Hundred Ages* (Holt 1989), in which he tends to evaluate the travel journals based upon how detailed a view of the "author" it provides, and whether a particular journal exhibits any novelty to distinguish it from the others. But the body of translations until very recently reflect the conventions in Japanese scholarship to value the "Three Greats" over other travel journals (these are the Nun Abutsu's *Izayoi nikki* and the two anonymous journals, *Tōkan kikō* and *Kaidōki*)

the Chinese *kanbun* that was written in Japan of the time; or whether the destination is a Buddhist temple, the home of a provincial governor, or purposefully left unspecified. While these elements certainly factor into our reading and understanding of any given text, they are by no means the only key to understanding what it is that a travel journal “does,” how it functions, or how it produces meaning. Instead, I propose that the travel journal format organizes space. The journal is ostensibly the record of a person’s journey through a geographical area. Likewise, its pages represent information about that geography.

Geography and Travel in Cultural Production

There was a relative boom of cultural production that took as its topic geography and landscape in general in the Kamakura period, which is when the travel journals that we have today began to be written. These travel journals were only produced with greater frequency throughout the Nanbokuchô and Muromachi periods. The record of a journey, a travel journal is structured in terms of both space and time: the narrative progresses in terms of the land traversed and according to the days and months spent on the road. It typically takes the format of a diary, including dates and details about the weather before introducing other material. This narrative framework creates the sense of the traveler with brush and paper in hand, writing impressions at the close of each day on the road.¹⁴

¹⁴ While this may have been the case for recording poems composed along the way, it was common practice to compose the full travel journal upon the journey’s completion. The amount of time that passed between the traveler’s return home and writing the travel journal ranged from only a few days to full months. Writing through the lens of distant memory was a common practice for a wide range of vernacular *kana* writing. Consider

As a genre, the rise of the travel journal in the Kamakura period is typically credited unproblematically to an increase in instances of travel. That a greater number of people were traveling more frequently is a practical necessity resulting from the division of the government and political unrest. Travel was a more visible necessity from the Kamakura period as a result of the governmental offices in Kamakura being physically removed from the imperial court in Kyoto. This is indeed one practical reason for much of the travel that took place in the Kamakura period. However, to apply it to all of medieval travel writing is to echo an overly simplified narrative. At the very least, it fails to acknowledge not only the extent of bureaucratic and official travel that took place in earlier eras, but also seems to ignore that the Ashikaga bakufu had permanently established its headquarters in medieval Kyoto by 1350 if not earlier, which Matthew Stavros has argued convincingly.¹⁵

As for political unrest, there are a few travel journals, such as those by Nijō Yoshimoto and one of his descendants, Ichijō Kaneyoshi 一条兼良 (1402-1481), that detail travel as a necessity to escape violence as a direct result of military attack. However, applying this explanation to all travel journals written during this time adheres to a view that the medieval era was plagued by continuous war and political disruption, leaving time for little else. This is a view that such historians as John Whitney Hall,

for example the *Kagerō Diary*, which was composed nearly a decade after some of the events described in its pages.

¹⁵ To be sure, Kamakura remained an important political center throughout the Muromachi period, and so travel between the two cities, typically by way of the Tōkaidō 東海道, or Eastern Sea Road, was as vital as ever. There is also evidence that the Kamakura and Muromachi periods saw significant growth and development in roadways, station towns, and inns, making travel both more accessible and better controlled. See Fujiwara 2005, Ishii 1992, Kodama 1992, Maeda 1996, and Kodama 1986

Jeffrey Mass, Michael Adolphson, and Thomas Conlan have shown to be exaggerated if not entirely incorrect, particularly in the context of the latter decades of the Muromachi period.

It is true that transportation and roadways were much improved by the medieval era, making travel possible for a greater range of people at a greater frequency. In general, the roads that had been established in the Heian period (784-1185) for official *ritsuryō* 律令 business continued to be used throughout the medieval period, and most were broadened to accommodate a higher volume of travelers, and extended in order to connect more centers. Inland routes and sea routes alike saw significant development. For example, the San'indō 山陰道 route was extended in the Kamakura period to connect Nara and Kyōto to Dazaifu (Maruyama, 35). However, the Tōkaidō underwent the most significant changes, as it became a direct link between Kamakura and Kyoto, making it the primary roadway of the governing body. Because of this, we can presume that the Tōkaidō that we see in the medieval travel journals was not precisely the same as it had been in the Heian period.¹⁶ Beginning in the Kamakura period, those travel ways that would have connected the center of Kamakura to the surrounding estates in the area were the ones that changed the most, or were created anew in this time. Other established roads fell into relative disuse at this time, such as the Hokurikudō 北陸道 (Northern Inland Road) going northward, and the Kamakura bakufu had local officials and military leaders take charge of the upkeep, rather than sending their own officials to do the work.

¹⁶ See Maruyama for archeological images comparing the Tōkaidō of the Heian and medieval eras (5).

But, the relatively sudden increase of travel writing in general and travel journals in particular is not justified simply by the fact that there were more travelers on the road, or that certain types of people were traveling at a higher frequency. As with any social phenomenon, this shift in cultural production toward depicting landscape and travel is more complex than such a single-dimensional explanation allows. This dissertation argues that in addition to these practical issues of increased necessity for travel and improved infrastructure allowing greater access to travel, travel journals were one way of organizing the geographic space of Japan at that time, a time during which control and authority over the land were highly contested.

The chapters that follow demonstrate this political aspect of land viewing by reading the travel journal and indeed the act of travel itself as a text, and not only in the narrow sense of words inscribed on the page. This approach follows Barthes' notion that all objects of cultural production, including paintings and landscapes as well as sociopolitical institutions and cultural behavior, are texts that constitute rather than mirror reality. In this sense, the act of travel is itself a text that is intertextual in its citation of other acts of travel, that produces and communicates meaning in its enactment, and that is read and interpreted, and therefore ultimately becomes separated from any sense of original authorial intention. Furthermore, just as the travel journals themselves are a product of the specific historical context of the Nanbokuchô and early Muromachi periods, so too were the acts of travel that they describe. While the elite travelers of fourteenth-century Japan were participating in a social phenomenon that drew from a tradition of travel and pilgrimage, there was also a unique set of concerns and ideologies

at play that were specific to these journeys, just as there are with the journeys of other times and places, enacted by other travelers.

Ishii Susumu (2004) has shown that in the thirteenth century, the alternating lines of imperial succession, a practice originally adopted to soothe the animosity between two rival lines, played a major role in the conflict that would bring an end to the hegemony of the Kamakura bakufu. The problem with the two alternating imperial lines was that they were forced to compete not only for the imperial seat, but also for the rights to and profits from *shôen* 莊園, or landed estates. This intense rivalry over imperial succession continued through the fourteenth century, hence the era name of the Nanbokuchô, or Northern and Southern Courts, to designate the first century of Ashikaga power. In addition to this, the Muromachi period also saw a gradual decentralization of political rule in tandem with the consolidation of territories under increasingly powerful *shugo* 守護, or provincial military governors in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods.

Considering that the *shôen* landholdings were a foundation for the power and relative autonomy of the *shugo*, it becomes clearer why issues of representing space, place, and travel came to the fore in the cultural production of this time.

The increased production of travel journals is one facet of a noticeable intensification of awareness of land and geography, particularly with regards to issues of representing, organizing, and making claims to the land as a political unit. This link between political control of geographic space and writing a travel journal, which primarily features poetry about famous places and their contexts, is easily overlooked because of false divisions across disciplines of literature, history, and religion in modern scholarship practices.

At its most basic, every travel journal is comprised of three primary factors: place, space, and persona. The place is a goal or a destination, a stop along the way that is named specifically in the journal, and that is described in some detail. The space is the greater geographic area that contains these discrete places. It is the area through which the traveler moves, including the anonymous roads and fields that are never mentioned in the pages of the travel journal. Finally, the persona is, in a word, the traveler. It is the figure who instigates the journey, and who goes on to enact that journey by moving from place to place.

Place

Within the discourse of representing travel, the concept of place has been the focus of the greatest academic attention. This is in part because travel journals are only one example among many of cultural production that deals with *utamakura* or *meisho*, important place names in the literary canon. The notion of place plays an important role in other types of cultural production. For example, *utamakura* are a central part of poetic practice, including *nô* theater 能楽, linked verse (*renga* 連歌), imperial poetic anthologies (*chokusenshû* 勅撰集), and poetci theory (*karon* 歌論), to name but a few.¹⁷ The famous place is also a central concept in visual culture, particularly after the development of woodblock print technology in the Edo period.¹⁸

¹⁷ In Japanese, see Yamashita 2010, Kubota 2008, Yasuda 2000, Kuroda 1997, Katagiri 1994, Yasuda 1992, Takahashi 1992, Yagi 1985. In English, see Baskind 1999, Shirane 1997, Sugimoto 1989.

¹⁸ Japanese language research on *utamakura* and *meisho* in poetry before 1600 includes Yoshioka 2009, Kawamura 2006, Morimoto 1988, Shigematsu 1986, Satake 1983, Higuchi 1980, Ikeda 1979, Kamochi 1979, Utsumi 1977. Other Japanese resources focus

In the example of *Solace of Words* above, it is the fame of these places that draws Yoshimoto to them, that motivates him to stop and look. He has in his own mind an idea of how each place should look, a constructed image that is the product of old poems about the place. In this series of passages, only Ojima, a place that draws Yoshimoto out of necessity alone, is not famous. Its lack of renown in the literary canon is made clear in the uncertainty and strangeness with which the place is described. It literally had no name in the cultural imagination of Yoshimoto's day. This anonymity is reflected in the dearth of old poems to cite about Ojima. In addition to this, the thick clouds hanging about its mountain peaks and the limited view of the outside world are a visceral manifestation of the obscurity of the place.

Practically speaking, the terms *utamakura* and *meisho* both refer to a place name that has a firmly established set of imagery in poetic composition.¹⁹ As such, they refer expressly to places that have become widely known from their frequent reference in poetry. The terms appeared around the middle of the Heian period, when vernacular poetry began to be a topic of theoretical discussion in such texts as commentary on poetry, explanations of poetic vocabulary, and lists of place names, along with other terms such as *makura kotoba* 枕詞, or “pillow words” that act as poetic epithets for

on *meisho* in print culture of the Edo period, such as Suzuki 2001, Kawata 1997, Chino 1982, Okajima 1973, Imai 1969, Isobe 1965. The majority of English language research on famous places has been on Edo print culture: see, for example, Goree 2010, AAS panel 2009, Berry 2006, Hickey 2005, Screech 1993.

¹⁹ Because “name” (*na* 名) also meant “reputation,” *meisho* 名所 (lit. place with a name) is a “famous place” (*Kokugo daijiten*). The most significant difference between *meisho* and *utamakura* is that in modern scholarship, *utamakura* 歌枕, literally “poem pillow,” tends to have more overtly literary implications, but this distinction is artificial.

certain objects or names (Kubota et al 1962, 82).²⁰ However, the poetry of the *Man'yôshû* shows that there was already the concept of place names that was becoming solidified by the late ninth century. Place-names were a widespread phenomenon in poetry by the beginning of the Heian court, and they were frequently used as *dai* 題, or topics for poetic composition.

Sakamoto Nobuyuki, a scholar of the *Man'yôshû*, writes that it was place names featured in *Man'yôshû* poetry that formed the bulk of classical *utamakura* in later centuries. He goes on to say that the poetic culture, particularly the practice of anthologizing, was the foundation for fixing these names through continual use by later generations of poets.²¹ He writes that the affects or emotions seen as intrinsic to a geographic place to which poets have adhered are the result of a traditional fixing of poetic treatment of place names by poets and in imperially ordered anthologies (*chokusenshû* 勅撰集), and has become a type of cultural inheritance. Because poetic composition was far more common than travel in the Heian period, the same sets of imagery became firmly established with the place-names. This is one reason why the images became abstracted and stylized.

²⁰ Important poetic texts of the mid- to late-Heian that deal with place-names are Fujiwara no Kinto's (藤原公任 mid Heian) *Shijô Dainagon utamakura* (四条大納言歌枕); Priest Nôin's (能因 mid Heian) *Nôin utamakura* (能因歌枕) and *Kongenki* (坤元儀); and Fujiwara no Norikane's (藤原範兼 1107-1165) *Godaishû utamakura* (五代集歌枕). These texts listed names (and in the case of the *Godaishû utamakura*, example poems) and the poetic topics (歌題) or types of imagery that were typically used together with the names in the poetic practice of the day.

²¹ The context for this is his preface to Higuchi (2013), in which he reads the *Utamakura nayose* as a medieval study on *Man'yôshû* poetics.

The famous place-name is also used in poetry for its sound. By using pivot words (*kakekotoba* 掛詞), a poem can introduce another topic by making a play on the pronunciation of a place name, for example, using the Buddhist concept of non-duality (*fuji* 不二) together with Mount Fuji (*Fuji* 富士). In the poem alone, this has the effect of abstracting the name. But Keller Kimbrough (2002) has shown that by providing context in a prose introduction (*kotobagaki* 詞書), the connection is made more concrete and significant by situating it in a specific time and place.²²

While geographic places are arguably the main point of a travel journal, the names of these places also play an essential role. Because of this, I take seriously the dual meanings of *meisho* and *utamakura* as either a geographic place (*tochi* 土地) or a place-name (*chimei* 地名), depending on the context. In this dissertation, I use the phrases “place” and “place-name” to precisely denote each concept whenever possible, using the Japanese when necessary to distinguish between the terms *utamakura* and *meisho*.

Other context provided in the prose introduction to a poem are events, time periods, and personal names. Place-names are typically the only types of proper names that are included in a poem, but in travel journals, the other types of names provided in the prose are equally as important.²³ There is a host of figures recalled by name or literary allusion—famous poets and priests, monarchs and court officials, gods and spirits, and characters from literary works, among others.

²² I translate *kotobagaki* as prose introduction to a poem. In the case of a travel journal, which alternates prose and poetry, I occasionally refer to *kotobagaki* as a “prose section” in the interest of simplicity.

²³ Earl Miner (1996) goes so far as to call the names of people “the most important names of all” in that “anticipation or recollection can summon, by some name, to a traveler’s present thoughts a person presently in another place or from another time” (28).

Kamens' discussion of intertextuality in poetic composition about *utamakura* is an important foundation for thinking about place names and the complex web of imagery that is associated with them. In this way, Kamens shows that place names have the effect of "weaving...webs of associations among and between poems," and so constitute the dense and meaning-rich poetic tradition of the imperial court society (5). This image of a web, or a network, lends a three-dimensional plasticity to the idea of a place name, and makes a useful parallel to the image of places as interconnected points on a landscape. Place names comprise a class of poetic words that is particularly rich with meaning as a result of the widespread practice of textual allusion starting from the late ninth century, when vernacular *kana* poetry was first emerging as a principal literary form.

In general, the more poems in which an *utamakura* was used, the denser its corresponding set of imagery would become. As an intertextual signifier, the *utamakura* encapsulates in a single name a sense of how the landscape appears and the figures that have visited it in the past, as well as other specific details such as the deities, legendary events, vegetation, and season or weather associated with the place. In this view, place names, and the act of naming in general, effectively add a profound depth to a limited number of words, the thirty-one syllables of the *waka* poem.

Kamens opens with a discussion of Natorigawa, a place name that Sôkyû mentions in *Souvenirs for the Capital*. In the space of a few lines, for example, the following passage calls up a richly layered literary history by invoking a set of overlapping place names:

I continued on, and sleeping on the road in the shade of the Takekuma Pines, losing myself in deep thought between the trees, I passed the Natorigawa River crossing, and was deeply touched by the thought that the flowing water would never return to this place. The dew under the

trees of Miyagino Plains, too, was so thick that I couldn't put my hat on quickly enough. The various flowers looked like a rich brocade spread out before me. In the midst of that, in the place called Motoara Village, I broke off a single branch of the bush clover, the color of which excelled above all others, and I kept thinking,

Miyagino no	When did Motoara Village,
hagi no na ni tatsu	notorious for its
Motoara no	bush clover of the
Sato ha itsu yori	Miyagino Plains
arehajimekemu	begin to grow so wild?

Here, Sôkyû invokes four place names—the Takekuma Pines, Natorigawa River, Miyagino Plains, and Motoara Village—all *utamakura*. The poem devotes eleven of its thirty-one syllables to two of these *utamakura*, a full third of the poem, even when these names are introduced in the prose passage that precedes it. The names dominate the poem from the first line, drawing far more attention than Sôkyû's response to the scene, which is the question, "When did it begin to grow so wild?" The connection between name and response is explicit in the image of the bush clover, which has by this time become permanently associated with the Miyagino Plains.²⁴

²⁴ Bush clover, or *hagi* 萩, is a hearty shrub with gnarled branches that blooms with delicate pink flowers in autumn. Its resistance to the unforgiving weather of the Miyagino Plains, as well as the appearance of the small and fragile blossoms against its dark, gnarled branches, makes it an image of juxtaposed transience and resilience in the autumn season. The Miyagino Plains are located in the Tôhoku region of Honshu, to the east of present-day Sendai. The name Miyagino is closely associated with bushclover, dew, and the phrase "dew under the trees" (*ko no shita tsuyu* 木下露) because of their appearance together in *Kokinshû* Love IV, no. 694 (poet unknown):

Miyagino no	The bushclover of Motoara
Motoara no kohagi	at Miyagino Plains
tsuyu wo omomi	bear the weight of the dew
kaze wo matsu goto	waiting for the wind to scatter it
kimi wo koso mate	just as I wait for you

And again in *Kokinshû* Bureau of Poetry, no. 1091 (poet unknown):
A poem on Michinoku

The phrase *na ni tatsu* 名に立つ means to become an object of gossip, particularly in love poetry of the Heian period, when it was undesirable to become so “notorious.” In *Souvenirs*, the term lends Sôkyû’s poem an air of love poetry, but also illustrates the idea of the place name forming a foundation upon which the reputation of a place is built. By naming a geographic place, the poem and its prose introduction effectively point to the past figures that have ostensibly been to that place. They are remembered through the poems that they have composed, and their poems construct the atmosphere of the place that we read in Sôkyû’s journal. I use the term “aura” to refer to this sense of atmosphere. By aura, I suggest Walter Benjamin’s notion of an object’s “sphere of authenticity,” or the contextual information that accumulates as it changes form, changes locations, and changes hands (220).

Although Benjamin’s formal definition of aura is “that which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction” (221), it is clear through his discussion that we can understand aura in more positivist terms as the sense that an object has a layered context that has come from its association with the divine, with ritual use, or with specific people and locations. The sense that the object has limited accessibility also contributes to its aura, in drawing viewers to it, not only to look, but also to appreciate the event of existing in its presence, however momentarily. In this sense, aura suggests the experience of the viewer,

misaburai
mikasa to mouse
Miyagino no
ko no shita tsuyu ha
ame ni masareri

My man,
call for an umbrella
at Miyagino Plains
the dewdrops beneath the trees
are more profuse than rain

Both of these are examples of how the images of autumn (represented by wind and rain), dew, bushclover, and waiting are tied to the place name Miyagino. *Kokinshû* 694 also shows that the name Motoara Village was used early on with Miyagino.

or in the case of travel journals, the traveler's experience of the famous place. The traveler's performative recognition of the famous place through naming and poetic composition makes an otherwise neutral landscape into a site of access to such non-material entities as gods, historical figures, and legendary events that are associated with the name.

Finally, it is worth noting that the literal meaning of "Natori" is "to take a name," and so suggests making a name, or a reputation, for oneself in the world. The idea of taking a name in the sense of gaining a reputation is common in love poems, as is suggested in several poems canonized in the imperial anthologies.²⁵ This attention to and use of names, both literally and as an underlying theme, demonstrates how rich with meaning an apparently simple passage such as this one from *Souvenirs* can be. But the references are subtle and tied to a highly specific sociocultural context, and require an understanding of the assumptions and knowledge that Sôkyû and his contemporaries would have brought to the text.

The brief, almost elliptical listing of place names is not unique to *Souvenirs for the Capital*, but the Miyagino Plains example discussed above shows just how heavily the text relies upon the images ostensibly recalled by poetic allusions alone. This points to another common criticism of medieval travel writing, an underlying reason for its

²⁵See, for example, *Shin kokinshû* Love, no. 628 (Mibu no Tadamine):

Michinoku ni	Natorigawa,
ari to iu naru	the river that is deep
Natorigawa	in the land of Michinoku,
naki na torite ha	where it was so bitter to earn
kurushikarikeri	a reputation by false rumor

(Inukai, et al., Natorigawa). Kamens discussion of Natorigawa shows how a single name can have a sprawling network of poetic associations.

neglect. We presume that the authors of these travel journals indeed traveled through the landscape in the time that they were writing. Some have voiced regret that these travelers seem to describe the landscape solely through the images of classical poetry. That is, rather than taking the care to describe what they “actually” saw and experienced of the landscape, such as roads, inns, villages, or the condition of certain famous landscapes, and rather than describing in his own words the travel conditions in each segment of his diary, medieval traveler-poets often looked backward to how the landscape used to look, and used words borrowed from their predecessors. This results in a landscape that is blurred or faded with time at best, or regurgitated at worst. This criticism reflects an emphasis on verisimilitude, when on the contrary, stylization and the symbolic value of the place name is what was most important.

The canonical poetry of the Heian period, with its descriptions of the landscape as it existed centuries earlier, is positioned as a lens through which the medieval traveler views the landscape. This compels the reader to compare the two. Because the place name has such strong connotations of earlier poems about the same place, it is easy to assume that the medieval traveler is attempting to access that earlier experience by drawing on the imagery of the landscape. This is likely the foundation for one of the most common interpretations of the travel journal as a literary expression of nostalgia for the past as a golden age of the Heian court.²⁶ But closer reading of the poems in conjunction

²⁶ For example, Plutschow (1981) writes,

with the introductory prose passages, particularly in Chapters 1 and 2, will show that the opposite is true.

For example, when Yoshimoto looks at the famous places in *Solace of Words*, the scenes have at times become all but unrecognizable, as the scattered remains of Fuwa Barrier. At other times, the scene is extraordinary in nothing but its modesty, as the humble Fujikawa of the Barrier that does not give the impression of a river that flows through the ages. There is the occasional site, or sight, that remains unchanged, as the Lone Pine or Mino no Oyama. Even in these cases, Yoshimoto does not respond with the satisfaction of finding the expected, but rather with astonishment, as though the constancy of the place is an uncanny phenomenon that must be further investigated. Finally, there is the most extreme case of the place name that is not famous at all. Significantly, Ojima becomes the place that is not only most important, but that is the most highly valued, because of its function as a temporary palace for Emperor Go-Kôgon during his exile from the Capital.

As the *Solace of Words* passages demonstrate, it is quite common for the prose passage to introduce the place according to the classical images that are associated with

By looking back in time for appropriate descriptions or emotions about a place, the travel diarists obviously superimpose a traditional structure upon reality. They fail to see the reality of a place, as it unfolds itself in front of their eyes, but concentrate instead on the way the ancient poets saw it. They travel along a road of literary history and tradition to which they strictly adhere, thus maintaining and transmitting tradition to future generations. They transmit, and do not generally innovate, since they travel into a past they rediscover on the journey. (22)

This assumption that medieval travel writing is concerned only with a distant past is a common one: Paul Varley, too, suggests that Zeami's use of *yûgen* in his Noh plays reflects "a nostalgia of the Muromachi period, a nostalgia especially for the remote time of courtier glory before the medieval age" (Watanabe 1986, 26).

the place name. This is simply practical, because it is the image that the traveler has in mind before having a chance to actually set eyes on the place. However, the new poem often becomes a place for the traveler to respond to the scene before him. In this sense, the poem expresses the reaction or the feeling of experiencing that view. But in addition to this, it responds to those famous images that have come to be associated with the place. In this way, the poem often takes an entirely contradictory stance—it is common to see the poem emphasizing differences in weather, season, foliage, or structures. When the view more or less matches the classical image of the place, it is not unusual for the traveler to express surprise and wonder that nothing has changed after the passage of so much time. This doesn't reflect a desire for the past so much as an expectation that traces of the past would have completely been erased by this time.

Such critical examination of canonical poetic imagery was not limited to the Nanbokuchô and Muromachi periods. Christian Ratcliff identifies a trend toward “reevaluating” the set of imagery associated with certain famous places in travel writing of the Kamakura period (100). Travelers in the Kamakura, too, applied a critical eye when comparing the landscapes they saw to the old descriptions of them.²⁷ As I show in this dissertation, to contrast the image of the name against the view of the place is in fact a common technique, found in many travel journals of the medieval periods. This is so

²⁷ Ratcliff's argument is weakened by the idea that a travel journal must necessarily provide “realistic” descriptions of the landscape. In the first place, he suggests that certain passages do not register as travelogues because they provide information about the canonical place name, rather than describe the landscape in a spirit of verisimilitude. Under this assumption, Ratcliff gives disproportionate emphasis to innovation and adopting an “aggressive relationship” with the poetic canon (105). Not only is this an unlikely goal for the cultural production of this time, but such a critical inquiry into the place name does not necessarily suggest antagonism toward the canon that supports it.

often overlooked because of the subtlety of language with which the poems make such juxtapositions, and because the sense of impermanence that permeates many of the journals is so easily interpreted as simple nostalgia for a distant past.

However, Ratcliff concludes that these treatments of classical *meisho*, which he interprets as attempts at innovating within the canon, were essentially stifled by “the almost inescapable need for sanctioned precedent” in poetic composition and court service (109). First, these examples were not necessarily failures if later travelers continue to experiment with place names. Second, even if a travel journal does treat certain poetic place names differently, it does not constitute a failure if this specific treatment doesn’t become canonical itself. Instead, I argue that the uncertainty over imperial succession and land ownership during the medieval era, particularly the Nanbokuchō and Muromachi periods, fostered a broad range of voices for reimagining and restructuring the land. The new places included in the travel journals were not all going to “succeed,” that is, enter the canon, because these new landscapes were experimental. They were explorations of new ways in which to construct the geography of what was then Japan. Finally, as we see in Yoshimoto’s *Solace of Words* in particular, precedent was in fact a key aspect in supporting and giving authoritative weight to any given journal.

Space

I have noted above the apparent trend toward a growing or changing interest in the land starting in the fourteenth century. We see in the range of cultural production during the late Kamakura and throughout the Muromachi period certain aspects that

suggest a growing interest in and attention to descriptions of land, geography, and landscape in concrete terms. Although some earlier examples exist, travel journals are a relatively novel phenomenon in the Kamakura, and steadily grew in popularity through the Muromachi period and through the Edo period, when travel and its representations enjoyed a boom in popular cultural practice.²⁸

Representations of a single place, as an *utamakura* or *meisho*, are familiar in the form of poetry or paintings. These views of the landscape are framed narrowly, so that they represent a specific place, as a point. In a series of these landscape views, however, the connections between these “points” suggests that each exists in relation to the others within a broad field. In a travel journal, each place visited and described is linked together by the narrative structure of the travel journal. The gap between each of these points comes to represent the geography that separates each of the sites named. Travel to places, even in the case of imagined travel, has the result of organizing the land into a cohesive unit. Because of this, the travel journal is a form that represents a very specific geography, according to the named places that are combined to make up that geography.

It is important to note that the idea of “the land” as in a term for country or nation did in fact exist, although not in the same sense of a modern “nationality.” The term land,

²⁸ This is by no means to suggest that there was no attention to land or geography before the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. To the contrary, we see in the earliest examples of poems and songs a liberal use of place names, poems composed while on excursions, discussions of travel, and descriptions of the land as seen from a vantage point. The earliest poets were a mobile lot, and travel and landscape was the subject of much of the poetry. Because the survival of centuries-old texts and images is haphazard at best, it is difficult to make definite claims about a growing interest in land or geography. There are important counterexamples from the Heian period—early maps, landscape paintings, hanging scrolls depicting Buddhist cosmologies or realms of the universe, and compendiums of place names by early travelers (the most famous of these is *Nôin utamakura*), in addition to the poetry and diaries mentioned previously.

or state (*kuni* 国), is a common noun in Modern Japanese that is translated as “country” or “nation.” But *kuni* had a much different meaning and use in the various periods of Japanese history. From the Heian period onward, *kuni* was a term that designated provinces, which were distinct from each other to a certain extent. This is not to suggest that there was not a notion of these separate *kuni* being tied together, however, a view that is suggested in such broader terms as *goki shichidô* 五畿七道, literally, the “five provinces and the seven roads.”²⁹ This is an important distinction to make, particularly because of my interest in issues of the connection between land, power, authority, and the social structure of the court, including the place of the bakufu.

I propose that the cultural artifacts that deal with representing place and geography are clues to how space was imagined and organized. One important type of text that is related to the travel journal but is beyond the scope of the present study is the poetic anthology. Because a poetic anthology collects and organizes poetry, often contextualizing each of the poems with a prose introduction, they are closely related to poetic diaries such as travel journals. Moreover, like the travel journal, there appears to have been a jump in the production of collections of poems about place from the Kamakura period onward.³⁰

²⁹ The five provinces are those closest to the capital, in the Kinai region: Yamashiro 山城, Yamato 大和, Kawachi 河内, Izumi 和泉, and Settsu 摂津. The seven roads are the regions that are named by the famous roads that radiate out from the capitol: Tôkaidô 東海道, Tôsandô 東山道, San'in'dô 山陰道, Hokurikudô 北陸道, San'yôdô 山陽道, Nankaidô 南海道, and the Saikaidô 西海道.

³⁰ In addition to the *Utamakura nayose* 歌枕名寄, some examples of poetic anthologies and poetic treatises (*karon* 歌論) that compile poetry about famous places are the *Ôgishô* 奥儀抄 (Fujiwara no Kiyosuke, late Heian), *Shûchûshô* 袖中抄 (Kenshō, early Kamakura), *Waka iroha shû* 和歌色葉集 (Jôkaku, early Kamakura), *Yakumo mishô* 八雲

One of these, the *Utamakura nayose* includes about 7,000 poems that feature place names. Compiled between 1312-1336, the poems are drawn from a variety of poetic sources, ranging from the *Man'yôshû* to contemporaneous collections.³¹ The *Utamakura nayose* is the earliest extant example of a poetic collection arranged according to geography, rather than in the conventional format of the imperial collections.³² There are 12 sections, one for each of the regions suggested in the term *goki shichidô*. The sections are organized beginning with the five provinces, which represent a center around medieval Kyoto, and moving outward with each of the seven roads. It is important to note that *goki shichidô* was also a name for the state of Japan entire, a term which has been in use at least since the 12th century.³³ Shibuya and Higuchi indicate that

御抄 (Emperor Juntoku, early Kamakura), (勝池吐懷編 *Jakuren*, mid Kamakura), *Seiashô* 井蛙抄 (Ton'a, late Kamakura), *Meisho hôgakushô* 名所方角抄 (Sôgi, 16th c.), and *Ruiji meisho wakashû* 類字名所和歌集 (Shôtaku, 1617), among others (*Waka daijiten*). See Handa Kôhei 2005, 2004, and 2003 on *Jakuren's* poetic anthologies of *meisho*.

³¹ These sources include all of the *hachidaishû* 八代集 (the first eight imperial poetic anthologies up to the *Shingosen wakashû* 新後選和歌集 1303), as well as poetry competitions (*uta awase* 歌合), collections of one hundred verses (*hyakushu uta* 百首歌), screen painting poetry (*byôbu uta* 屏風歌), and private poetic anthologies (*shikashû* 私家集), among others.

³² This is in contrast to the *One Hundred Verses on Meisho in the Kenpô Era* (*Kenpô meisho hyakushu* 建保名所百首 1215), for example, which focuses on poetry that features place names, but follows the imperial anthologies in its division into books on each of the seasons, love, and miscellaneous.

³³ For example, book 13: 24 of *Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語 (ca. 1120) writes, “there was no place in the five provinces and seven ways that he had not been to, and none of the sixty-some provinces that he had not seen” (五畿七道に不行至ざる所なく、六十余国に見る国なし). The term is also used in the *Taiheiki* 太平記 (late 14th c.), and in such Edo period works as *Record of Famous Places on the Tôkaidô* (*Tôkaidô meisho no ki* 東海道名所記 1659-61). The origins of the term are in the seventh century, referring to the basic districts of local administration under the *ritsuryô* system, in which the seat of the emperor was considered the capital, based on the mainland system, and solidified in the Taika reform of 645-49. The five provinces that make up the *goki* as we know it

the collection inspired several later variations, as well as lists of famous places, or collections of pictures (*meisho zue* 名所図絵). Renga teachers (*renga-shi* 連歌師) in the Muromachi period used it as a tool for teaching, and it appears to have been widely known at the time. Higuchi conducts an extensive comparison of several editions of poetic compilations that are called the *Utamakura nayose*, some significantly later than the first, for a total of ten extant manuscripts. There is some variation across the editions, and it seems to have maintained its popularity throughout the Edo period as well.

Brian Harley, who draws a direct link between the projects of cartography with expressions of power, provides an important perspective on the relationship between making representations of the landscapes, and making claims to the territories they represent in medieval Japan. The issue of mapping as a language of power has been explored in the context of premodern Japan. However, in poetics, the link between land and power is not so explicit, particularly in terms of territory, and so has been overlooked to a certain extent. If we approach the issue in the awareness that poetry itself is a discourse of power, then the role of the poetic travel journal, and its interaction with *utamakura* sites, becomes more transparent as an engagement in the sociopolitical arena of medieval Japan.

In the case of travel writing, we can conceive of the relationship between the body and the space it moves through more concretely as a relationship between the traveler and a broad network of long-established *utamakura* sites. And this relationship is both

today were established around the middle of the 8th century. The seven routes were established in the court of Monmu 文武 (r. 697-707), after six routes having been established in the court of Tenmu 天武 (r. 673-686): 東海・東山・山陰・山陽・南海・筑紫. After that there was only slight variation until the concept of the 66 provinces and two islands 六十六国二島 was established in 823.

constructed and interpreted through a performative process that involves: (1) a knowledge of a literary canon that plays an important role in political performance, (2) an awareness of space as it functions in geographic and temporal constructions of authority, (3) a use of “space” and movement through it in a more abstract sense as the index of an interpretive gap, and (4) a sensitivity to important places as an arena of otherworldly potential.

Revisiting his seminal *Landscape and Power*, W. J. T. Mitchell writes in a preface to the second edition (2002):

If one wanted to continue to insist on power as the key to the significance of landscape, one would have to acknowledge that it is a relatively weak power compared to that of armies, police forces, governments, and corporations. Landscape exerts a subtle power over people, eliciting a broad range of emotions and meanings that may be difficult to specify. This indeterminacy of affect seems, in fact to be a crucial feature of whatever force landscape can have. (vii)

This is an important point to keep in mind, even in a premodern sociopolitical environment without such institutions as police or corporations. It would be misleading to suggest that Ashikaga Yoshiakira, a military leader, or Nijō Yoshimoto, regent to Emperor Go-Kōgon, believed that writing a travel journal would result in greater tangible power than leadership over an army or a achieving a high rank in the imperial court. But it is these positions of authority that enable them to wield significant influence over how the land and landscape is perceived.

There is little doubt that political elites of Nanbokuchō and Muromachi Japan literally viewed the land in terms of their own power and authority. For example, these travelers in the fourteenth century are practicing a type of “land-viewing” poetry, or *kunimi uta* 国見歌, an all but archaic form of expressing authority over a geographic

area. This is a ritualistic poetic structure common in the age of the *Man'yôshû* in which the poet emphasizes the act of looking at the land and making a claim to all that is seen by praising the land and the gods, people, and fertile production associated with it.

Such overt and visible interactions with land, and acts of framing specific landscape views, contributed to the ideology of political authority, and because of their efficacy were adopted to support the Ashikaga hegemony. In the case of the Northern Court in the fourteenth century, this ideology is made up of specific historical narratives and claims of divine sanctity. It is actively constructed from a wide range of sources, and one of these is the land itself—as a concrete source of income as well as a military and political asset, to be sure, but also as a direct connection to the deities and the legendary and literary figures that are referents of political rule. As we see in the example of travel journals and other representations of travel through space, travel is a layered performance that constitutes the places and spaces that, connected, form a very specific view of the landscape with a powerful message.

The Traveler and Movement Through Space

The discussion thus far has focused on locating places in a broader political geography. In representations of travel, however, movement through space, from one place to the next, is key, and I read the traveler as the element that provides this movement. Travel journals are framed by geographical space more than by time, as in other diary forms. Each new entry in a travel journal, as a narrative unit, focuses on setting out for, reaching, and interacting with a specific place, and occasionally with its surrounding area. Space governs the narrative progression, and citing the place-names in

the order in which they are reached works to represent the distance that the traveler covers on each leg of the journey.

We have seen that famous places form a network of points within that field of geographical space, and these points become the framework through which time passes. But time does pass, and it is also recorded in the journals, whether in the dates given, the season, the changing weather, or the cycles of the moon. It is this temporal dimension in which we identify the traveler.³⁴ The traveler in turn uses historical time to identify and embody the aura of the places visited.

The body's movement is a progression through space over a given period of time. If the travel journal represents a geography made up of a series of places in a specifically defined space, it also represents the traveler's movement through it, in which the gap between each of these points comes to represent movement of the traveler. The traveler's movements link each place in the journal. Likewise, the traveler's performance of looking and poetic composition constitutes a *meisho* or *utamakura* as a famous place. It is this performance of travel—enacted as movement through space, looking at a landscape view, and composing poetry about the place—that links the individual places, constructs the broader landscape, and posits a unified political unit.

In the context of traveling to famous places that are often invested with sacred power, there is the inevitable question of whether travel is in fact a type of pilgrimage. Alan Morinis (1992) defines a pilgrimage as a journey undertaken to access the “sacred,”

³⁴ Consider the techniques for representing movement through space in text and image. In general, this includes using sensory imagery, visual and otherwise, to suggest the expansion or contraction of space, and the passage of time, which is not necessarily linear. This movement can occur both within an individual poem, and across a number of poems in poetic anthologies or across verses in *renga*.

or the “ideal” (1-2). In contrast to Morinis, who rejects any conflation of pilgrimage and tourism, Ian Reader (1993) places his work firmly within the scope of scholars who “point to the implicitly religious themes of tourism” (17).³⁵ However, both arguments embrace a definition of pilgrimage that expands what is considered “sacred” to anything that is so valued as to represent a cultural ideal. As such, both extremes are problematic in the present study.

Instead, I build from Morinis to take a much narrower interpretation of pilgrimage as a journey to access what the state recognizes as sacred or ideal. In this more limited sense, a pilgrimage is a journey to an institutionally designated religious center, whether it is a single temple or shrine such as Sumiyoshi Shrine, or a wider area such as Mount Kôya. I do this first to reflect that certain official sacred centers were identified and maintained according to the state hegemony. I call a journey to such officially sanctioned

³⁵ Reader 1993, p. 17. Reader affirms that

pilgrimage is too important and rich a subject to be limited and confined to the explicitly religious domain. We think it incumbent on anyone studying pilgrimage to take note of the fact that remarkably similar phenomena occur across a wide area, some of which could be seen as religious, others of which seem far more tenuous and rooted in the secular world...Indeed, several of our studies will make it clear that the notion of the sacred and the profane as two conflicting spheres and opposites, and of pilgrimage as revolving around the sacred sphere which is set apart from, or implicitly different from that of the mundane, can itself be a tenuous and questionable distinction. (Reader 1993, p. 16).

But this is a problem too in its insistence on naming tourism and identifying it as sacred (as having “implicitly religious themes”). In cases of modern travel, perhaps this is the case, but the terminology relies heavily on a sacred/secular distinction even as it attempts to move beyond it. Regardless, I argue that this approach is not applicable to travel in Japan before the nineteenth century, nor perhaps even today. To suggest that tourism has “implicitly religious themes” is only to maintain the opposing binaries of sacred and secular while sweeping all of the examples from one pole over to the other—from the secular the sacred. Even if doing this leaves the “secular” pole empty, there yet remain two poles. Calling tourism “sacred” maintains the underlying assumption that there is a distinction between the two.

places a “pilgrimage,” while I call a journey to other famous, important, or otherwise sacred places “travel.”

Second, my narrow definition of pilgrimage is to emphasize that it is impossible to distinguish between sacred and profane in the context of medieval Japan. In medieval Japanese writing, we see that there is indeed an awareness of making distinctions between journeys of a sacred or secular nature.³⁶ Similarly, we see some differences in the way an important religious site and a famous *utamakura* site are characterized in travel journals.³⁷ This difference is largely superficial—it arises from the names, which in many ways dictate the types of thoughts or actions that are discussed at each site. And in the end, this superficial difference (the differences that rest in how the place is characterized and what actions are carried out, etc.) is what distinguishes every place from the other. It is the act of pointing out the specific characteristics that make it stand out as an *utamakura* in the first place, and has more to do with making a distinction from anonymous space than it does with making some claim about the sacred or secular nature of the places.

In approaching the body of travel writing that was being created during the fourteenth century, the statement of “motive” is simply not firm enough to support the formation of whatever categories we may attempt to identify. Not only do the goals underlying pilgrimage, hermitage, military strategizing, political envoy, or leisure/pleasure likely overlap significantly in any given journey, but there is also the issue of the writer making a statement about the

³⁶ See Chapter 1 of this dissertation for a discussion of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century debates over writing poetry and fiction as “mad words and decorative phrases” (*kyôgen kigo* 狂言綺語).

³⁷ Sôkyû’s *Souvenirs for the Capital* depicts him praying all night before the cauldron as a manifestation of the shrine deity, for example (see Chapter 1).

motivation of the diary in the first place—needless to say, there is not a direct parallel between writer, traveler, and the first-person voice of the text. However, the question of what conventions the text adheres to plays an important role in revealing the purpose of the text—for example, in the case of a travel journal that records poems that were dedicated at sacred places, the pilgrimage aspect is heightened, even if this was not overtly stated as an intention for the journey. On the other hand, these very same conventions can obscure the multiplicity of functions that the journey takes on for the traveler. As Plutschow (1999) points out, in the case of an imperial pilgrimage that is also undertaken for military or otherwise political reasons, the convention to compose official offertory poems at sacred places emphasizes the pilgrimage aspect, while refusing to “elucidate the covert reasons behind the pilgrimages” (183).

In this context, the terms “liminal space” and “communitas” are useful to discuss travel. Turner has been criticized for his arguments about *communitas* in pilgrimage, and Barbara Ambros (1997) shows that Turner’s notion of *communitas* was highly unlikely in Heian pilgrimage. However, these terms are important in highlighting the performative aspect of travel.³⁸ I discuss travel in a broader sense of going to an important place and stopping to look and comment because of its history. The reason for composing a poem there is in order to respond to the aura of that place in the sense that there is a trace of the historical events that happened there, or the famous people who were also there.

³⁸ In his efforts to put forth a single theory of pilgrimage, Victor Turner has contributed significantly to the field, and set the scene for debate over what constitutes pilgrimage. Turner’s two main points that come under greatest criticism are: (1) his suggestion that pilgrimage can be defined beyond religious motives, and can extend to secular, particularly tourist, situations; and (2) his argument, in identifying the phenomenon of *communitas*, that the performative act of entering into a liminal space for pilgrimage ultimately works toward supporting and maintaining the social structure by emphasizing a strong sense of community that solidifies among all pilgrims to a site.

This sense of aura is comprised of intangible figures, and so it relates only symbolically to Turner's definition of *communitas*. That is, the traveler experiences *communitas* with a group of figures that are deities, fabrications, or memories, and not necessarily with fellow travelers in the sense of "an unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated community" (1969, 96). But there is a broader impression of calling witness to the events that were traditionally believed to have occurred in the place in question. If we read entrance into liminal space as a performance of the lowly, sacred, homogenous state outside of the sociopolitical structure, the traveler gains increased access to, or *communitas* with, a set of gods and historical figures that exist in the landscape and that would otherwise be restricted from association with the traveler because of social norms surrounding family or artistic lineage practices.

Judith Butler, in *Bodies That Matter* (1993) proposes a theory for understanding how the body is constituted by its presence and actions in space. Based on the problem of space and place, which exist neither continuously nor as a homogenous entity, others have argued that it is the performance itself, enacted by the body, which constitutes, produces, and reproduces space.³⁹ While this theory may be a challenge to apply directly to medieval Japanese travel writing (primarily because of key differences in assumptions about the body in contemporary, industrialized, capitalistic, global society), the statement itself—that the performance is what constitutes the space—is true in the case of a historical imagination of space. This is because in many cases, the body and the text are

³⁹ See, for example, Mahtani in Hubbard and Kitchin 2011 (82-90), Dewsbury 2000, Lewis and Pile 1996, and Bell et al. 1994.

the only way that the space continues to exist—thus it relies on the continued performances of visitors for its existence.

Looking at a Landscape View

The visual nature of representing travel and constructing the geography in poetry is particularly important here. Poetry is a translation of the senses, it is the response to a given experience or interaction, whether of a lover, a scene, an emotion, a concept, or otherwise. And while there are abundant examples of poems describing affect in terms of tactile and aural imagery, it is clear that visual imagery plays a central part of poetic composition. As in the poetry, viewing is thematized in a range of media, including written text. Looking is an act, and it is looking that becomes the primary performance in the pages of these travel journals. In the most basic sense, to make a distinction between text, image, and performance in the medieval period is anachronistic.

Similarly, Denis Cosgrove's (2008) theory of landscape as a way of seeing suggests that it is the act of looking that frames and enacts a landscape. Cosgrove introduced, with his *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (1984), the idea that landscape can be imagined, and his reading of landscape as infused with an iconography—that is, as infused with symbolic social and cultural meaning—is applicable not only to visual and textual representations of landscape (as maps, paintings, and, for example, travel writing), but also to the material land as it has been shaped by human hands, either through architecture or other design. It is this theoretical approach that has led me to feel it is necessary to take a multi-disciplinary approach in thinking

about how space, place, and movement through the landscape are represented in Muromachi Japan.

Poetry was a performance at its core, and its occasional nature tended to place significance in the location in addition to the time. This is clear in *waka* and *renga* events held at a specific place for the meaning imparted by that place, such as beneath the blossoms or before a shrine. As such, naming was an important part of the performance of poetic composition in general, and not only in travel writing. Again the act of naming, which Earl Miner reminds us is “irrefutably intentional and referential” (14), is dependent upon repetition. In the act of repetition is the power to maintain an ideology while simultaneously opening a space for change and projection into the past and future.

Furthermore, the act of naming had the power of ritual behind it. Gary Ebersole’s work on ritual practice associated with early poetic composition, as well as Herbert Plutschow’s distinction between “ritual” and “ritualistic,” is useful in discussion of a poetic practice that derives its form directly from ritual poetry, but which practice is no longer “ritual” in a literal way. Kimbrough has shown that poetic composition maintains a ritualistic function at least through the medieval era in his work on *kotodama* 言霊 and poetic practice. This idea of poetry as an example of ritualistic practice is not to conjure up hazy ideas about a superstitious or pre-rational or pre-modern culture. Instead, I emphasize here that the ritual composition and recitation of poetry is a temporally and spatially specific performance. As such, poetic composition is a fundamental part of the imperial court of the fourteenth century, a sociopolitical structure which associates efficacious poetry with a successful performance as a part of the poet’s roles as much as aesthetics in the sense of *belles lettres*.

This is where it is most useful to point out the role of poetic composition as an active member of court. This is the court that is based on the activity and precedent of the Heian court, although there is greater variation and insecurity, perhaps, because of the multiple locations, the multiple competing interests, and the fact that the political methods were certainly shifting, and had been for at least a century. In some ways, this may be one reason why innovation within the literary production seemed to stagnate, particularly in the context of the dominance of the Nijô School of poetic composition. The conventions associated with literary production were one thing that could be asserted and passed down to successive generations, while affirming rather than undermining cultural significations of sociopolitical authority.

It is important to note that I always distinguish between the author and the narrated figure—for example, in the case of *Souvenirs for the Capital*, I will use the name Sôkyû to refer to the figure that is described as traveling through the landscape in the text, but it is never assumed that this Sôkyû is identical or unproblematically equated with Sôkyû the author of the text. In the interest of clarity and simplicity, I will maintain the name (and rely on context to specify which “Sôkyû” is indicated), and specify “narrated figure” and “author” or “historical figure” only when necessary for clarity. In other cases, this ambiguity is unavoidable, but it is also useful, because it reflects the ambiguity that made such complex and sophisticated experiments with depicting movement through space possible. In other words, the ambiguities between Sôkyû as traveler, as poet-priest, and as narrated figure are located in the performances. Similarly, each of the roles overlap in unpredictable and sometimes unconventional ways. The multiple roles and the overlap among them worked in favor of constructing the narrated

figure of Sôkyû. So, even when ambiguity and overlap between the narrated figure and the historical figure is purposefully used, I will always take the basic approach that no perfect equation can be assumed or drawn between author-narrator-traveler.

In the end, the political implications of such performances are great. In each case, the travel journal recreates the acts of looking at and making representations of the landscape. In short, each text creates a view of a landscape that is linked directly to the persona depicted as the traveler. This representation of the land worked to establish the traveler's geographic and temporal narrative of authority. The places that appear in these travel journals acted as an arena in which the traveler could gain access to an idealized lineage. Finally literary techniques such as *michiyuki* 道行, or “going along the road,” acted as the index of an interpretive gap, and worked to integrate a series of scenes into a whole landscape, a single realm that was tied together by the gaze of the traveler.

Chapter Summaries

The travel journals in this dissertation are closely related in style and content. This particular selection also represents a comparatively narrow historical segment in that they are authored by or otherwise attributed to political elites associated closely with the Ashikaga shogunate. I have chosen to focus on this sociopolitical group and this time period because they reflect the multiple ways in which history and geography can be imagined, even within the context of a shared ideology, the success of the Northern

Court.⁴⁰ I do not include travel journals from the Kamakura period or before, nor after the Ōnin War, because although there are many similarities in style and content, in each case there is a significant shift in the types of people who were traveling and writing these journals. In the first half of the Muromachi period, the majority of the journals are written by powerful elites from the capital. Only after the Ōnin War and throughout the latter half of the Muromachi does this begin to change. By this definition, we can read the travel diaries of the Nanbokuchō and early Muromachi periods as representing a social movement in which the Ashikaga bakufu were working to establish and then maintain their political authority to rule. They were reimagining the ways in which the realm could be organized, and history could be written.

The chapters that follow examine a series of techniques for representing space and movement through it that are common to medieval Japanese travel journals: in Chapter 1, using the name to access the aura of a place; in Chapter 2, invoking historical precedent and ritual; in Chapter 3, viewing the land with purpose; and in Chapter 4, using clouds and other atmospheric imagery to frame the landscape. In each case, the performative acts of travel and poetic composition work to construct a conceptual geography within the bounds of the journal, and also to inscribe the persona of the traveler onto the land in a statement of political authority over it.

The order in which I introduce each chapter is intended to reinforce the flow of the argument throughout the entire dissertation in discussing issues of travel, place, and performance. Although I focus on a specific factor of travel writing in each travel journal

⁴⁰ I focus on travel writing of the medieval era because the focus in travel writing upon the land lends itself well to a written discourse on a highly contested issue of land ownership and political and military strategy.

in succession, I stress here that each journal exhibits all or most of these factors, if to varying degrees.

Likewise, the organization and discussion of each of the journals in chronological order is to make the impact of the historical context on the resulting texts clearer and easier to follow. It is not to suggest that there was a teleological development of travel writing during this time from early to late Muromachi, nor that there was some transformation from representing lists of places to making political claims over the corresponding geographical areas. Rather, all of these elements are present in each of the diaries. This is true even for Sôkyû's *Souvenirs for the Capital*, which has every characteristic of a so-called "personal" travel diary with no official purposes or political claims. The fact that this characterization is inadequate is a primary reason why it is so important to revisit travel journals and to continue to research them, in order to move toward a more complete view of what these travel journals were doing, and how they functioned in the literary milieu of Kyoto, the capital of what was Japan in the medieval era.

Each travel journal begins with an introductory passage that establishes the concrete details such as the date, destination, weather conditions, and reasons for traveling. Each journal then goes on to introduce the various places encountered along the way, typically by way of composing a poem in response to the poet's knowledge about that site's history of famous travelers in the past and famous poems composed about it. In almost every case, the journals depict the traveler as wandering alone and exposed to the elements; they apply a combination of Buddhist philosophy and respect for the local deities that inhabit each place. Likewise, in every case, the persona of the traveler

constitutes each place he visits with his performance, and by precisely following the format for a travel journal, works to construct the landscape into a very specific geography. No one text embodies every single element discussed in this dissertation, nor does any text represent only one of those elements in a vacuum. Instead they all employ a great number of these common characteristics in order to represent a view of the country (*kuni*) as a cohesive geographic unit. While the format remains the same, it is the view that varies. The landscape is always framed in different ways; the country that emerges is constructed of a modest diversity of places, and it is populated by a wide range of figures, both contemporary and historical, who are remembered through the stories that are tied specifically to those places.

The first chapter demonstrates that place names are an efficient way to invoke a rich sense of place. This sense of a place, or its “aura,” is composed of the people, places, poems, events, and matters of precedent that are associated with a place name that has become famous in the literary canon. In travel writing, then, a nearly encyclopedic knowledge of canonical poems and poetic culture is central to reaching a sense of the aura of a place. In it, the process of naming as a purposeful act is not limited to the place names themselves, but extends to the names of deities, literary and historical figures, and literary works associated with a place. In this way, the interaction with and appropriation of the place and its name contributes to the project of making distinctions between the famous places and the generic space that surrounds it. As such, the travel journal becomes a subjective construction of geography into a network of overlapping centers and peripheries, a series of framed landscape views.

While the use of place names is a most prominent feature of *Souvenirs for the Capital*, it is also an excellent example of how the role of the “wandering poet priest” persona is constructed in representations of travel. As such, it makes a useful backdrop against which to highlight the types of performance that are enacted at the places themselves. This is further complicated by the practice of composing a poem about a distant place from memory, or without even having traveled there. In short, the act of poetic composition is not always consistent with the so-called viewing of the place that becomes the subject of the poem. Although the performance may shift depending upon the role under which the poet labors, the implications remain in that the resulting poem and the narrative behind it (the *kotobagaki*) represent one way of framing that landscape, one way of constructing the geography of the Japan of the day.

The second chapter examines *Solace of Words at Ojima* (*Ojima no kuchizusami*, Nijô Yoshimoto, 1353), in which Nijô Yoshimoto applies his knowledge of court precedent and classical literature and history to take a critical look at the phenomenon of famous places and their use in cultural production. The famous names (of places as well as political figures, poets, and literary works) lend authority to Yoshimoto’s words and actions, particularly his judgments on the value of specific places, as well as the propriety of the events that take place, including a ceremony by Emperor Go-Kôgon, who is young and inexperienced, and the arrival of Ashikaga Takauji, among others. The text also deals directly with issues of precedent and legitimacy: essentially traveling as a result of exile because of extreme conflict over authority and legitimacy between the Northern and Southern courts, Yoshimoto discusses this highly irregular situation in terms of court precedent in order to justify the claims of those sympathetic to the Northern court. In all,

we see that naming, in conjunction with precedent and ritual, is an act of literary interpretation that takes on characteristics of appropriation with political implications. Yoshimoto's journey to Ojima, which is in fact a sudden flight from an invasion of the capital by the Southern military, provides another context for discussing the issues of center/periphery as well.

The third chapter focuses on *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* (*Sumiyoshi môde* 住吉詣), a short travel journal that is traditionally attributed to Ashikaga Yoshiakira 足利義詮 (1330-1367), the second shogun, son and successor to Takauji, and student of Nijô Yoshimoto. *Sumiyoshi* describes a journey in 1364, presenting it specifically as a pilgrimage to the Sumiyoshi Shrine in Settsu province, on what is now the Osaka Bay. The persona of the traveler Yoshiakira described in this journal is multi-faceted; he is presented as pilgrim, poet, reader, and political and military leader. The literary techniques common to travel journals are well suited to combining and representing these roles, and enacting the relationship between the traveler and the land traveled. The traveler Yoshiakira gains access to the history, lineage construction, and political authority that is provided by travel to famous places and composing poetry there, as described in Chapters 1 and 2. The journal also works to sacralize geographic space by treating the journey overtly as a pilgrimage (*môde* 詣), as well as identifying the land as a political unit by looking with purpose. In short, *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* deals with the question of investing geographic space with sacred power through pilgrimage, accessing and asserting proficiency in the elite literary culture of the imperial court, and claiming political authority over the land by looking at it.

The fourth chapter examines a journey in 1432, in which the sixth Ashikaga shogun, Yoshinori, traveled the Tôkaidô road to view Mount Fuji. It is well documented that there were strategic goals for taking the trip, during which he stayed at the home of the *shugo* of Suruga province, Imagawa Norimasa. But three travel journals, written by Yoshinori's attendants on the journey, emphasized the act of looking at Mount Fuji, a point that is made clear in the titles of each journal: *A Record of Viewing Fuji* (*Ran Fuji ki*, Gyôkô), *Journey to Fuji* (*Fuji kikô*, Asukai Masayo), and *Diary to View Fuji* (*Fuji goran nikki*, attrib. Imagawa Norimasa). On the surface, this points to the practice of indulging in sightseeing in the course of official travel during the medieval period. But a more complex reading would observe that Yoshinori and his entourage, too, were participating in the powerful act of viewing the land, as discussed in Chapter 3. In addition, I examine how clouds and other atmospheric imagery are used as a motif for representing the landscape and the traveler's movement through it. While viewing Mount Fuji, all of the poets present compared Yoshinori, wearing a white cotton cap on a cold morning, to a classical poetic image of Mount Fuji with a cloud hovering over its peak. This, and other descriptions of atmosphere, do more than to embellish otherwise mundane events, or to report the weather on a given day.

In a context in which looking is a ritual equated with power and ownership of the landscape viewed, it would seem as though clouds would present an obstacle to the traveler's gaze. However, the *Fuji Viewing* journals demonstrate that clouds and mist in fact create an interpretive gap—a blank canvas upon which the traveler can project the human realm. While clouds obscure the view of the landscape, they also enable a concrete link to distant places, past events, legends and stories, or the divine.

Atmospheric imagery in these travel journals lends material weight to the aura of the place, eases the difficulty of the road, and provides a backdrop for the traveler's performance of the journey as it is depicted in the travel journal.

Chapter 2

Souvenirs for the Capital: Place Names and Naming Places Within the Poetic Culture of Muromachi Japan

Sôkyû at the Shirakawa Barrier

Around 1350, a wandering lay priest who had taken the name of Sôkyû (active mid 14th c.) was traveling in what is now the Tôhoku region of Japan. By the middle of the fourteenth century, this region had long been settled and established as the province of Michinoku, a part of the “Japan” of the day. Yet it was nonetheless frequently depicted as a rustic countryside that was far removed from the Capital.⁴¹ Sôkyû adopts this view with the regional name “the East” (*Azuma* 東) in addition to the individual names of the provinces that make up that part of the country. As Sôkyû approached one of the famous places on his route, the Shirakawa Barrier (Shirakawa no seki 白河関), he reflected on how far he had come on his journey, and on how much time had passed since he had first

⁴¹ The Japanese term that Sôkyû and his contemporaries use for what is present-day Kyoto, is “the Capital:” *Miyako* 都 or 京. This word is still used in Modern Japanese, and today literally means “capital,” but I treat it here as a proper noun because that is how the word was used in this and many other travel journals of the time—as a place name. In medieval travel writing, the name “the Capital” occurs much more frequently than the name Heian-kyô 平安京.

set out, in his record of that journey, *Souvenirs for the Capital* (*Miyako no tsuto* 都のつと 1350-52):⁴²

It had been spring when I left the Capital, and so when I crossed
the Shirakawa Barrier at the end of autumn, I couldn't help but
agree with Priest Nôin of Kosobe, who composed the poem,

Miyako wo ba	I left the Capital
kasumi to tomo ni	with the rising mists of spring
tachishikado	but now it is the autumn wind
akikaze zo fuku	that is blowing
Shirakawa no seki	Shirakawa Barrier

Sôkyû

and I think that what he says is true.

It has been said that, unfortunately, our Nôin probably did not compose his poem on site. Rather, under the pretense of going down to the Eastern country, he was hiding away at home, and later presented the poem as one that he had written while visiting that distant province. He must have actually gone there at least once, to have written such a thing as *Record of the Eight Hundred Islands*. Even if I don't go so far as to comb water through my hair like Takeda no Kuniyuki, one should at least change one's mood before passing through this place, even if it is feigned slightly, like applying makeup to the heart. But I did not, and crossed the Barrier in poor spirits.

Miyako ni mo	In the Capital, too,
ima ya fukuramu	it must be blowing even now—
aki kaze no	the autumn wind
mi ni shimiwataru	that permeates my very body
Shirakawa no seki	at Shirakawa Barrier

Sôkyû
(*Tsuto* 354)

Here Sôkyû compares the landscape that he sees with the images that he has long held in his mind as a result of reading other poems and stories about the Shirakawa Barrier. The references that he makes to Nôin and Kuniyuki, two historical figures discussed in further

⁴² All translations are my own unless otherwise noted. See Appendix A for a full, annotated translation of *Souvenirs for the Capital*.

detail below, show that Sôkyû has arrived at a famous place that is important for its literary, political, and cultural history. Meditating thus on the relationship between past and present, he explores how the mind and body experience movement, distance, and season. He also reflects, with curiosity and good humor, upon the various performances that are involved in shaping and recording that experience.

This passage is a typical example of the other passages in *Souvenirs for the Capital*. It combines prose and poetry in a narrative style similar to the vernacular poetic diary, differing only in that travel is its governing theme. It takes the Capital as the center from which the traveler moves into the countryside. The prose sections describe the traveler's movement through geographic space, and the poems are composed along the way about *utamakura*, or place names that are valued for their importance in the literary canon. An *utamakura*, literally "poem-pillow," is a place name that has become famous as a result of repeated and intertextual reference in the literary canon, especially in poetry. The names of famous places—the *utamakura*—provide the basic structure for the travel journal, and are in large part introduced as motivation for travel in the first place. Finally, each section of prose with its accompanying poem draws upon the background of the *utamakura* site it highlights, and uses this background in order to make meaning. In this way, the prose and poetry create a dialogue that impels the reader to jump back and forth between the two, reading each in a new light according to what the other says.

By attending in careful detail to the background of the Shirakawa Barrier, even a relatively brief passage such as this one in *Souvenirs* takes on greater depth and complexity, both in the prose and poem individually, and in the interaction between the two as a cohesive section. For anyone in Sôkyû's position—a literate man associated with

the court, and perhaps with a religious institution, if even distantly—the name Shirakawa Barrier calls up the canonical works by Nôin and other such famous poets, as discussed in detail, below. And based on these poems, Sôkyû would know that the Barrier is classically associated with the falling leaves and cold wind of autumn; the ruins of a military post in long disuse; a sudden desire to communicate with the Capital, even as he realizes how far away it now is; and efforts, however small, to make an appearance of civility as one crosses the barrier gates, an act symbolic of courtly propriety despite one's rough surroundings. These are the images that Sôkyû would have held in his mind long before seeing the landscape in person. Little wonder, then, that they play such an important role in his description of the place, regardless of the scenes that may have confronted him upon his arrival.

Place Names and Constructions of Space in Muromachi Japan

A travel journal is a first-person narrative that describes a series of landscapes and the traveler's progression through them. In this format, place names are an efficient way to construct an image of that landscape. Edward Kamens has shown that the place name is central to poetic composition because its long-term use in the literary canon invokes a rich history, including people, poems, and events, that are all connected to the place it indicates.⁴³ Similarly, place names and the act of naming are a prominent feature in all of the roughly sixty extant travel journals that were produced during the medieval era, and Sôkyû's travel journal, *Souvenirs for the Capital*, is no exception. Because this figure is for the number of travel journals still extant, there were certainly many more written,

⁴³ See the Introduction of this dissertation for a discussion of Kamens and his study of intertextuality of *utamakura*.

which suggests that this was indeed a phenomenon attached to the historical context of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. With the exception of only a handful of travel journals from the sixteenth century, the last decades of the Muromachi period, they all posit the Capital as a center from which the traveler moves outward, and into the countryside. But this is not to suggest that the journals posit a rigid center – periphery structure of the country. Instead, the description of each famous place uses a carefully selected set of imagery to tie the Capital to certain points throughout the countryside, in the process constructing a complex network of moving centers that follow the traveler on his journey.

This chapter examines the process of identifying a place name to its corresponding location in the landscape in travel writing. As a representation of a journey, *Souvenirs* shows that travel, which is the act of moving through and purposefully looking at a series of landscapes, is manifested in travel journals as a two-fold performance. In the first part of this performance, the text emphasizes the ways in which the traveler takes on the role of the traveling poet. In the passage on the Shirakawa Barrier, for example, the image of Sôkyû as a weary traveler, walking on the road from the Capital to the Barrier, materializes in the reader's imagination with the line, "It had been spring when I left the Capital, and so when I crossed the Shirakawa Barrier at the end of autumn..." As I demonstrate in a full analysis below, this simple statement reasserts the image of Sôkyû as having taken up the role of traveling poet, which has been constructed in the opening passage of the journal.

When the traveler reaches a famous place his role begins to shift. The awareness of and attention to names, and to place names in particular, becomes clearer. The fame of

the place names themselves has an effect on the traveler. While preconceptions about what kinds of views the landscape holds may have the potential to blind the traveler and even cause a feeling of disappointment upon arrival, by the same token, this common awareness of what makes up a given “classical” landscape scene provides the traveler with ample material with which to compare—and in many cases, differentiate—the sights and sites that he sees when he arrives in person. In this way, the fame of a place and its name are what motivate the traveler, as a consumer of and participant in the poetic culture of the imperial court, to take on this role of traveling poet. The place represents the hinge, or the pivot point between these combined images of traveler and poet. The traveling poet is a constructed identity that is motivated by the existence of *utamakura* with rich cultural histories.

At the famous place, poetic composition takes the role of ritual. The act of citing and reciting poetry necessarily involves the unique and highly codified language of the poem, most recognizable in its use of rhythm in the lines of alternating five and seven syllables, as a means of heightened communication. In this language, the latent power of words (*kotodama* 言霊), particularly proper nouns, informs the process of interacting with each famous place, and also in a sense with the unnamed spaces that lie between those places, beginning with the project of determining whether or not any given place along the road “exists,” that is, whether it is worth mentioning, worth naming. In most cases, it is such canonical works as the *Tales of Ise*, *Tale of Genji*, and the imperial poetic anthologies that determined the fame and value of a site and its name. But an analysis of *Souvenirs* and other contemporaneous travel journals will show that travelers in the first decades of the Muromachi period (mid 14th century), a time when strained relations and

military conflict between rival Northern and Southern imperial courts brought conventions of imperial succession and authority under careful scrutiny, began looking to other sources in addition to these canonical texts for examples of how to interact with and describe the landscapes of what was then Japan. Most prominent among these newly attractive canonical sources are poems of the *Man'yôshû*, which for some poets of the Kamakura period represented a dangerous state of near chaos, but which stood for Sôkyû and his contemporaries as an important example of poetic language and a means of appreciating and even communicating with the divinity invested in the landscape.

Poetic composition is a central part of representing travel as the traveler poet interacts with each famous place in turn. In the Shirakawa Barrier passage, for example, the reader is prompted to speculate about Nôin's famous poem, to picture the courtier Takeda no Kuniyuki composing himself before continuing across the Barrier, and finally to imagine the ferocity of the autumn wind so far north of the Capital as described in Sôkyû's poem. All of these factors draw from an existing poem in order to contribute to an image of the Shirakawa Barrier as a famous place. And poetry is the language by which the traveler Sôkyû interacts with that place. This interaction typically unfolds in a prescribed way according to the aura of the place in question, a sense of the place's atmosphere that is made up not just of the view of its landscape, but also of its reputation in the canon, and the historical context that is associated with its name. That is, the image of the "Shirakawa Barrier" as it appears in *Souvenirs* resembles an idealized set of imagery based on the place's iconography from the social imagination, typically as a result of its combined history, literary and cultural context. This interaction continues to be shaped and dictated by the aura of each famous place in turn, resulting in a canon of

prescribed behavior that revolves around the place name. This “act of naming” is not limited to the place names themselves, but extends to the people and literary works included in the aura of the famous place as well. The issue of naming famous people and literary works will be explored further in the context of Nijô Yoshimoto’s *Solace of Words at Ojima* in the next chapter.

In this way, the interaction with famous places, through the twofold performance of making a journey and writing about it, contributes to the project of making distinctions between named places and generic, or unnamed, space. As such, a depiction of travel becomes a subjective construction of space into a network of shifting centers and peripheries. An important function of *Souvenirs* is to distinguish the famous places as a series of specific locations that sit apart from the anonymous space around them. This process of making distinctions is not unique to *Souvenirs*, but it is a common feature across in other forms of cultural production at the time. As such, the practice of naming, particularly in the context of travel and looking at landscapes, contributes to the construction of a system of space, not only as a network of centers and peripheries, but also as a blueprint of a realm in the sense of the political unit that is consolidated under and is a product of the cultural and historical authority of an imperial figure.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Victor Turner’s theory of liminal space, too, depends upon identifying a center/periphery construct in order to illustrate and give meaning to the pilgrim’s exit from and subsequent reentry into the social structure via his entrance into the liminal. However, in travel journals, while naming is an act of making distinctions between places as important (having value) or otherwise, the distinction between center and periphery is not as consistent or clear-cut as the idea of Capital as a center surrounded by its periphery. See Adolphsen, Kamens, and Matsumoto, eds., *Heian Japan: Centers and Peripheries* (University of Hawaii Press, 2007). In order to reflect upon how the act of naming contributes to the project of “making distinctions” in travel writing, it will be

The Traveler-Poet as a Role to Perform

Sôkyû's speculation about the story behind Nôin's poem allows a glimpse into court poetic culture, and helps to reconstruct the range of attitudes toward, and execution of the project of composing poems that are destined to become a form of communication, whether spoken or written. The module of the travel journal begins with a prose passage (*kotobagaki*) that describes a landscape, whether in terms of canonical imagery or empirical observations. The prose passage establishes a backdrop against which is presented one or more poems that are composed using that place name. This format is revealing in its self-reflexivity: not only the content, but the material form of *Souvenirs*, too, becomes a representation of a journey.⁴⁵ As a representation of a journey, the text shows the performative aspects of travel, or movement through landscape. The format of the travel journal itself reflects this view. The text is also a material representation of a journey. There are frequent moments in which the narrative suggests a linear progression through space in relation to time, the journal becomes a direct metaphor to the concept of travel as progressing along a road—itsself a line in which the passage of distance and days

helpful to draw upon a discourse of nondualism and conceptions of *kû* 空 or *kûkan* 空間, and of *mu* 無 and *u* 有 in medieval religious and aesthetic discourse.

⁴⁵ This format of a prose – poem module also describes a wide range of poetic practice that takes a similar shape, from poetic diaries (*uta nikki*) and tales (*monogatari*) to letters, and even to oral poetic practices in which we assume some sort of introduction is offered before reciting the poem. The texts that we identify today as medieval travel journals are ultimately poetic diaries in which the primary distinguishing factor is that they describe a journey. Some poetic diaries in which only sections describe a journey are also commonly grouped among travel writing (*kikôbun*)—most famously *Sarashina nikki* (更級日記 ca. 1060, Sugawara no Takasue no musume), *Utatane* (うたたね early Kamakura, Abutsu ni), and *Towazugatari* (とほずがたり late 13th c., Koga Masatada no musume). All of these forms ultimately arise from vernacular writing in which *kotobagaki* prose introductions to poems in poetic anthologies were expanded.

are directly correlated. The majority of the forays beyond the structure of linear narrative take place at famous sites, and this reflects the aura of those sites as reaching into the past and extending toward the future. Finally, in some passages it is difficult to track the movement of the traveler, which suggests a state of wandering, in which the traveler refuses to propose a concrete goal or destination in his journey. Instead, in these sections the traveler embodies the Buddhist notion that there is no permanent home by literally wandering without destination. The text reflects this philosophy in the spatial and temporal gaps and ambiguities in the narrative.

Each prose – poem module in the travel journal is a unit that represents one leg of a journey. In the Shirakawa Barrier passage cited above, for example, the prose and poem work together as a single unit that describes Sôkyû's movement toward and arrival at the Shirakawa Barrier. This format of prose section punctuated by a poem is a module, and it works in various genres, including the poetic tale. The module's predictability becomes a touchstone for the reader in imaging how the journey progresses.⁴⁶ Each passage of the text—a prose section followed by the poem, in which the poem represents the end of that passage—takes the shape of a literal passage, a leg of the journey. In the text, each passage focuses on one place name as its destination. The act of travel is represented in the text by holding to a recognizable pattern that includes thinking about, going to, and finally interacting with a series of places. Typically, any concrete details about each place

⁴⁶ The narrative progression of an illustrated handscroll (*emaki* 絵巻) also tends to employ this format of prose – poem – image modules. This reinforces the view of a travel journal text as a compilation of individual passages. In this sense, the poems act as punctuation. In viewing the text as a material object the reader also realizes that the poems stand out visually from the rest of the text, just as the important place names stand out from the anonymous space around them.

are included in the prose sections, including a statement of the destination, description of movement and arrival, names or other references to past travelers to the place, and empirical observations about the buildings, people, landscape, or activity there. These details construct the aura of the place, while the empirical observations in particular reflect the ways in which the traveler interacts with or formulates an emotional response to the place. This reaction, which often begins to take shape in the prose, is fully manifested in the poem about the place as a conclusion to and a condensation of the passage. Once the poem is composed, the traveler's thoughts begin to move toward the next destination, and the process is repeated.⁴⁷

The figure of Sôkyû takes on the role of the traveling poet precisely during this initial moment of preparing for departure, a step that is expressed as beginning to think about the place, or a declaration to go to the place. This is typically accomplished by making a statement about travel itself, the action that ultimately defines a traveler. As in the lines, "Just as the sun was setting I arrived at Shiogama Bay," or "From there [Shiogama], I went along the bay to visit Matsushima," the moment of taking on the role of traveler can be as simple as a statement of arrival in the place (*Tsuto* 358).

Other passages afford slightly more attention to the act of travel. In the passage on the Shirakawa Barrier is the line, "It had been spring when I left the Capital, and so when I crossed the Shirakawa Barrier at the end of autumn..." The motion verbs for travel,

⁴⁷ As we identify a recognizable pattern, however, it soon becomes clear that inconsistencies arise in the prose-poem formula for representing travel (see the passages at Motoara, Sue no Matsuyama, or descriptions of Sôkyû's time spent wandering, for examples of this). It does not take much variation from this formula to have an effect on the ways in which movement through space and the passage of time are represented. But such deviations from a recognizable formula are important signals that there is also a change in the way movement is being represented in these sections.

namely “to leave” (*izu* 出づ) the Capital and “to cross” (*koyu* 越ゆ) the Shirakawa Barrier (*Tsuto* 354), are not necessarily as direct as the words for “to arrive” (*yukitsuku* 行着く) at Shiogama Bay, or “went to visit” (*tazuneyuku* 尋ね行) Matsushima (*Tsuto* 358). Nonetheless, the diction constructs Sôkyû as a traveling figure in every instance. Nearly every passage that makes up a travel journal, because it represents a new leg of the journey, opens by refocusing on this role, even if only very briefly.

However, in most travel journals, the opening passage is the most important in showing the figure’s adoption of this role. For example, the opening passage of *Souvenirs* is heavy with terms and imagery that establish a noticeable transition from Sôkyû, member of society (whatever his roles may have been), into Sôkyû, traveler:

Around the period of Kano [1350-52], there was a man who had turned away from the mundane world. Although I had not the will to pass through metal mountains and iron walls, I resolved to follow into the past the tracks left under trees and over rocks. Thinking, “since nowhere is there a final abode,” I left Tsukushi one day to lose myself in wandering here and there. Having some connections in the area, I lay upon the clouds of Mount Ôei and found lodging amidst the dews of the Ikuno plains. Still wandering thus, I came to a place called Mount Iya in Tamba province. Though I did not depend upon it as a permanent refuge, I spent the remainder of that year there. (*Tsuto* 348)

The phrase, “a man who discarded the world” (*yosutebito* 世捨て人, world-renouncer) indicates Sôkyû’s decision to withdraw from society, and to disregard any ties, physical or emotional, to the material world. It may have also indicated a formal decision to become a Buddhist monk, although this is not certain, nor is it relevant.⁴⁸ In connection to this, there are several references to *mujôkan* 無常観, the Buddhist worldview of

⁴⁸ The issue of whether or not he was officially associated with a religious institution is ultimately unimportant. Because he is taking on this role of traveling poet as he sets out on his journey, he is entering into a liminal space that works to sever any ties he may have to institutions or other parts of the social structure (even if only temporarily).

impermanence. The transitory nature of human life is reflected in images of homelessness and transition. Mount Ôei, for example, is located on the border of Tanba and Tango provinces. Its location, as well as nearby Ikuno Plain, thus suggests a space of transition between two worlds.⁴⁹

Also prominent in this passage is the idea of a permanent home, which is a futile hope in this worldview. This is reflected in Sôkyû's thought, "since nowhere is there a final abode" (*Tsuto* 348), which is a reference to the following poem by Priest Jakushô 寂照 (active 10th c.), anthologized in the sixth imperial poetic collection, *Kin'yôshû*, Parting, no. 344:

todomaramu	Whether to stay
todomaraji tomo	or yet not to stay,
omohoezu	I cannot determine
izuku mo tsuhi no	since nowhere
sumika naraneba	is there a final abode

Jakushô
(*NWD*)

This impossibility of finding a permanent shelter is further paired with the phrase, "I resolved to follow into the past the tracks left under trees and over rocks," which suggests a life spent in wandering and meditation guided by one's predecessors on the road.⁵⁰

Wandering as accepting a "temporary lodging" is thus a more realistic metaphor for life in the world of *Souvenirs*, and this is reflected in the images of clouds and dew, natural

⁴⁹ Mount Ôei is located in present day Kyôto prefecture. The Ikuno Plain is an *utamakura* site in Tamba province that is often paired with Mount Ôei.

⁵⁰ This is likely a specific reference to a biography of Myôe, 明恵 (1173-1232) a priest of the Kegon Buddhist sect, who is attributed with the phrase, "The Buddhist dharma flourishes, it is said, when there are people sitting in meditation everywhere, under trees, and upon rocks" in the Kamakura-era Buddhist text, *Parting Words of Priest Myôe of Togano-o* (*Togano-o Myôe shônin ikun* 桐尾明恵聖人遺訓).

phenomena that are apt to appear or disappear at the slightest change of weather. This passage also posits “wandering” as a type of travel without destination, even if it has a sense of purpose.

The references to impermanence are sometimes obscure, but they are by no means subtle.⁵¹ In this passage the figure of Sôkyû, as he is constructed in *Souvenirs*, comes to life.⁵² Sôkyû, traveling poet, takes shape as he “discards the world,” which is the act of stepping outside of the social structure of a layman’s life.

At the same time that he so discards the world that he has known, Sôkyû takes up the language of the road. In addition to the clouds, dew, and temporary lodgings of the opening passage, there are many other common images and phrases for travel frequently mentioned throughout *Souvenirs*, including the grass pillow, the roadside bed, the “sky of travel,” and even the moon as something of a traveling companion.⁵³ What is more, this vocabulary is maintained and used relatively unchanged throughout centuries of writing about travel. For example, the image of a grass pillow, a symbol of the poverty, loneliness, and peril that comes of spending nights on the road, is as common an image in the seventh- and eighth-century verses anthologized in *Man’yôshû*, as it is in the

⁵¹ The phrase, “pass through metal mountains and iron walls” and the reference to Mount Iya are uncertain, but appear to suggest the kind of training that endows one with supernatural skills such as those of the Shugenja (修験者) or mountain ascetics.

⁵² I do not propose to draw any concrete ties from the figure of Sôkyû that we read in *Souvenirs* (the persona) to the historical Sôkyû (the person). Unless specifically stated otherwise, the name Sôkyû points to this constructed character that is narrated in the words of the travel journal.

⁵³ These, the most common of terms of the road, are: grass pillow (*kusamakura* 草枕), the roadside bed (*tabine* 旅寝), the “sky of travel” (*tabi no sora* 旅の空), and the moon traversing the sky (*sora yuku tsuki* 空行く月).

seventeenth-century classic of travel writing by Matsuo Bashô (松尾芭蕉 1643-1693), *Narrow Road to the Deep North*.⁵⁴

Approaching to Look: Mount Mirror

This chapter is a study on the function of place names and the act of naming in travel writing. Names and naming make up an important rhetorical device: to use a name signifies that the place, the historical figure, or the moment is important and worthy of distinction. And in addition to using names, there is significant attention paid to naming as a practice, that is, to the term “name” (*na* 名) in and of itself. This extends beyond an interest in proper names to an examination of the act of naming itself. Attention to naming as a theme makes it another performance, and as such contributes to the act of segregating place from space.

However, another facet of this attention to naming is the traveler-writer’s tendency to avoid describing himself. For example, in many cases, the first line of a travel journal is written in third person. The *Tosa Diary* is perhaps most famous for this, through which Ki no Tsurayuki introduces the narrator of his diary as a woman on the journey: “This is the attempt by a woman to write one of those diaries that are said to be written by men” (*SNKBZ* 13: 15). The anonymous *Kaidôki* 海道記 (1223) begins by identifying a “poor recluse” who lived in the wilderness: “In the foothills of the Chûsan Mountains near Shirakawa Crossing, there was a poor man who lived in simplicity and

⁵⁴ The opening passage of Bashô’s *Oku no hosomichi* is similarly woven densely with the symbolism of travel, pilgrimage, and Buddhist and other philosophical references. Interestingly enough, there is no mention of Sôkyû in Bashô’s famous journal, although they share the same route to Matsushima, among other thematic features. See Muramatsu Tomotsugu 2001 for a full analysis of the similarities between the two diaries.

reclusion” (*SNKBT* 51: 72). This style of introduction recalls the storytelling mode of the *Ise* or *Genji*. It is important to note that not all travel journals begin in this way, including the other travel journals examined in this dissertation—*Solace of Words at Ojima*, *Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi*, and the *Fuji Viewing* set—all of which reflect a much stronger awareness of the sociopolitical context of the day. In contrast to this, the opening line in such journals as *Souvenirs for the Capital* appear to be a stylistic function of those travel journal texts that make an overt commentary on Buddhist practice and philosophy. It is likely details such as this that have led to the often sweeping distinctions between “religious” and “official” diaries in English language scholarship on travel writing.

Throughout the text of *Souvenirs*, Sôkyû, too, remains unnamed. There are no more than a few vague references to Sôkyû as a named figure throughout the entire text. This is in part a result of the way the language works, but as in the passage on Mount Mirror, it is also in some ways a comment on Buddhist philosophy. For example, after introducing himself in the third person in the opening line, there is only a single instance of a reflexive pronoun meaning “myself” (*mizukara* みづから) in the text. Otherwise, the use of such verbs as “to think, feel” (*omofu* 思ふ) and humble version for the verb “to be” (*haberi* 侍り) is the only indication that the text is written in a first-person perspective through the eyes of Sôkyû the traveler. The reflexive pronoun “myself” (*mizukara* 自) in the opening works as a transition from the first sentence to the rest of the text, in “In the time of Kan’ô, there was a man who had discarded the world. Although I may have lacked the will within myself [*mizukara*] to pass through metal mountains and iron walls...” (*Tsuto* 348). This reference to himself also seems to indicate his modest self-evaluation that he is incapable of miraculous feats associated with travel or pilgrimage.

Because the humble and often self-deprecatory language resembles the style common to the genre of diary writing, including such works as *Tosa* and *Ise*, it is easy to suggest that this is no more than maintaining a convention, or a way to suggest religious intention. However, Sôkyû's passage on Mount Mirror suggests that this reluctance to name himself extends beyond convention or propriety.

The passage on Mount Mirror is the first in *Souvenirs* to take the module of prose – poem focused on a place name. This is the point in which the work thematizes the names of places and people to point to the textual history of these names and so borrow the imagery of the other poems the names recall. Further, the act of naming is in effect a ritual. It is a formulaic repetition of a powerful word or phrase, and it is often incorporated into a poetic composition, one type of ritualistic language, in order to offer praise or appraisal of that which is named. Thus, after beginning by positioning himself in the footsteps of all the famous traveling priests and poets who had walked before him, Sôkyû shies away from his own appearance in a play on the name of Mount Kagami (*Kagami-yama* 鏡山), which can be rendered as “Mount Mirror” in English:

I passed by Mount Kagami, and although I had reason enough with my recent change to ink-black robes, I felt uneasy about seeing my face, and was certainly not thinking, “well, I shall approach.”

tachiyorite
mitsu to kataruna
Kagami yama
na wo yo ni tomen
kage mo ukereba

Do not say, Mount Mirror,
that I approached to look,
since the reflection of one
seeking to leave a name in the world
is dreadful to see

Sôkyû
(*Tsuto* 349)

Here is an opportunity for the reader to gaze upon the figure of Sôkyû reflected in the mirror of Mount Kagami. In the context of a worldview that teaches of the emptiness and

futility of making a name for oneself or searching for appreciation by others, Sôkyû, having donned the robes of a monk, apparently hesitates to indulge in the vanity of describing, or even promoting, himself.

Although it expresses a desire to remain anonymous, the image nonetheless reinforces the role of traveler-poet that has been established in the opening passage of *Souvenirs*. The poverty of his “ink-black robes” suggests travel dress that has been selected specifically to indicate Sôkyû’s status as lay priest and ascetic wanderer. And the comment that this is a “recent change” reminds us that this is a part of the traveler’s exit from his social structure, a discarding of his world.

The treatment of the word “name” here demonstrates its association with the idea of worldly fame. When read alone, Sôkyû’s poem addresses the issue of name as personal vanity.⁵⁵ A concern over the desire for fame is a common theme in Buddhist discourse, as is the suggestion that gaining a name for oneself is the result of having earned a bad reputation, although the latter is a more common theme of love poetry. Based on this attention to “seeking to leave a name,” that is, making a mark in the world or becoming famous, the poem appears to reflect an anxiety about the perceived impropriety of the traveler mingling his religious objectives with the pleasure he finds in composing poetry.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ There is also the possible problem of the role of the *Souvenirs* text itself, presumably endeavoring to enter the canon as a text that other poets would someday read or make allusions to; or imagining others following in his own footsteps on this pilgrimage of *utamakura*.

⁵⁶ In this sense, it is difficult to avoid making a clear distinction between the sacred and secular; see the discussion of “delusional and decorative words” (*kyôgen kigo*) below.

However, the poem also alludes to another old poem on Mount Mirror from the first imperial poetic anthology, *Kokinshû* Misc. I, no. 899:

Kagami yama
iza tachiyorite
mite yukamu
toshi henuru mi ha
oi ya shinuru to

Mount Mirror
well, I shall approach and see
whether the passing years
have accumulated
to age this body

poet unknown
(*SNKBZ* 11: 340)

When read in the light of this poem from the *Kokinshû*, Sôkyû's poem may seem overly concerned with superficial appearances, against the profound theme of aging in its connection to impermanence, especially since he was so reluctant to see his face reflected in the "mirror" of the mountain. But the theme of pursuing fame, particularly as an endeavor concerned with superficial outcomes, adds a depth of seriousness, and provides a commentary on the role of the traveler-poet as a dual role. This is supported by a series of about a dozen poems that treats Mount Kagami together with the notion of glory (*nishiki* 錦) in the second imperial anthology, *Gosenshû* 後撰集 (951).⁵⁷

That is to say, while there are recurring moments when the role of traveler requires full immersion into the Buddhist philosophical tropes introduced in the opening passage of the text, the act of composing poetry is fundamental to the poet's progression through and interaction with the landscape in a meaningful way. As the figure of Sôkyû continues along his journey, these two roles do not lie in opposition, nor are they always entirely compatible, and one job of the traveler is therefore to constantly adjust not only his persona but also his actions in order to respond to these fluctuations. Regardless,

⁵⁷ The word *nishiki* 錦 appears in several poems in the progression in *Gosenshû* from poems 393-407.

within the larger context of names and naming as a central theme for the construction of travel journals as much as the construction of geography, this moment at Mount Kagami represents an explicit act of naming that is combined with an emphasis on anonymity on the part of the traveler-poet persona.

The seeming opposition between Buddhist and poetic practice reaches its height about mid-way through *Souvenirs* while Sôkyû is still suffering from his grief over the death of a dear friend who had offered a night's lodging and companionship only half a year earlier. Strikingly, the tension between his conflicted identities can apparently only be alleviated through expressing his thoughts verbally, and so he scrawls a message and two verses on the wall of the inn where he is staying:

But, when I came to visit this place once again, determined not to break an old promise, this person has already passed from the world. Unable to see for a second time the face I knew of that single night, my breast is ablaze with yearning, and my sleeves are soaked with loving tears. I know no other way to outwardly manifest my grief, the sorrow stirring like a seed within my heart. Even if it is said to be a mistaken game of decorative words, still, can it not be linked distantly to glorifying Buddha?

sode nurasu
nageki no moto wo
kite toeba
suginishi haru no
ume no shita kaze

I come to call at this place
of sleeve-drenching sorrow
already the wind has swept
beneath the plum tree
of that spring, now past

yû kaze yo
tsuki ni fukinase
mishi hito no
wakemayouran
kusa no kage wo mo

Evening breeze!
Carry the moonlight down
illuminate the shadows
cut a path where my friend parts
the deep grasses, surely losing his way

Sôkyû
(*Tsuto* 353-354)

This passage, with its mixture of Buddhist discourse, theoretical language of poetic composition, and diction from love poetry, at first seems quite contradictory in tone. Regardless of the nature of this relationship, Sôkyû appears to be torn between material attachment to the world and dedication to the philosophy of detachment, and this lends a complexity and depth both to the prose passage and the accompanying poems. In the final lines of the passage, however, he ascribes his poetic compulsion to his overwhelming grief—the “seed of intention” within, a product of experiencing strong emotional ties to the material world.⁵⁸ This outburst of emotion is thus presented as a weakness, or a delusion, and is apparently expressing some hope that he can find spiritual meaning out of the verses that follow.⁵⁹

By calling poetry a “mistaken game of decorative words,” Sôkyû alludes to the concept of “delusional and decorative words,” or *kyôgen kigyo* 狂言綺語. The phrase comes from a poem by Bai Juyi. William LaFleur attributes Bai Juyi’s popularity in medieval Japan to this solution to the seeming conflict between poetic composition and Buddhist practice (7-8).

⁵⁸ The “seed of [human] intention” is a reference to the Kana Preface (*Kanajo* 仮名序) of the *Kokinshû* by Ki no Tsurayuki, who writes in the opening line: “Japanese poetry takes the seed of human intention and flourishes into the myriad leaves of words” (*SNKBZ* 11: 17).

⁵⁹ It seems somewhat jarring, even out of context, for Sôkyû to pose a rhetorical question such as this so frankly as the very last line of what is otherwise uniquely passionate language throughout the rest of the preface. Such a statement could be, at least in part, rhetoric—a feigned disapproval of his poetry as a technique to imply humility. It is possible that this is such an expression of humility because of the public place in which he is writing it. If this is so, it is an example of a “performative spirituality,” which I discuss below (see Mount Sayanonaka passage). Regardless, it still allows on another level the significance of the poems to follow it.

Poetry as Ritual: The Way of Poetry and Interaction With the Place

There is another passage of *Souvenirs* that addresses this view that poetry lies in opposition to formal Buddhist practice. This scene takes place as Sôkyû goes by the Shiga Bay of Lake Biwa, which lies to the northeast of the Capital. When Sôkyû looks out over the expanse of Lake Biwa, he is reminded of a story about Genshin 源信 (b. 942), a priest active during the tenth century:

At dawn the next morning, I went in the company of some travelers leaving the temples and shrines of the Capital. As the sun rose we passed the shores of Shiga Bay. I looked over the wake of a boat paddling in the distance, and the elegance of Priest Manzei's poem, "To what should it be compared?" floated up in my heart. A man of great virtue at Ryôgon temple at Mount Hie [Genshin]⁶⁰ said that poetry was an indulgence in unorthodox thinking, and so had it banned. But later, at Eshin temple, while he was looking out at the lake [Biwa] in the breaking dawn, and watching the progress of a boat going into open water, Genshin heard someone recite that poem. He then thought that poetry may indeed be an aid to Buddhist meditation, and after that he composed many poems on the 28 chapters [of the Lotus Sutra] and the 10 pleasures [of the Pure Land]. I thought, "Well, maybe so." (*Tsuto* 349)

This passage immediately follows the introduction and Sôkyû's departure from the Capital, and it immediately precedes Sôkyû's arrival at Mount Kagami, which is the first famous place name that he uses in a poem. The introductory passage firmly establishes the philosophy of *mujôkan* as a lens through which to view Sôkyû's journey. The position of this passage about Priest Genshin as a part of the introduction suggests that it is also included to establish a worldview through which to read the bulk of the travel journal that is to follow.

⁶⁰ Priest Genshin 源信 (b. 942) was active in the mid-Heian period. He was the head priest of the Ryôgon-in temple and retired to Eshin-in, both Tendai temples associated with the Enryaku-ji temple complex on Mount Hiei. He is the author of the *Essentials of Salvation* (the *Ôjôjôshû* 往生要集), in which he expounds upon the "ten pleasures" of the Pure Land.

Starting with the Mount Kagami passage, all of the passages on famous places throughout the journal emphasize the roles of the traveler. In *Souvenirs*, Sôkyû adopts the role of the traveler, which ties together a combination of wandering ascetic, consumer of literary canon, and participant in the poetic culture of the imperial court. The passage on Genshin at Shiga Bay acts as a bridge between the introduction and the prose – poem modules of the travel passages that follow. After establishing the larger context of Buddhist practice, it emphasizes the important role of poetic composition, not only as simply compatible with Buddhism, but as a necessary factor in expedient practice of meditation, expression, and interaction with one’s world.

It has been established that theoretical writings on poetry tend to include arguments for the practice of poetic composition as a Way, or *michi* 道, an expedient means for salvation (S. *upâya*, J. *hôben* 方便).⁶¹ In this practice of poetic composition as an expedient means, called *uta no michi* 歌道, the Way of Poetry, from at least the early Kamakura period, the endeavor of poetic composition becomes a praxis on par with religious practice. By taking this as an underlying philosophy, *Souvenirs* draws all of these smaller byways of poetic culture and religious thought into the road (*michi* 道) he walks on his journey, so to speak.

The story about Priest Genshin, as it is related to us in *Souvenirs*, appears in a collection of anecdotes, the *Fukuro zôshi* 袋草子 (Fujiwara no Kiyosuke, ca. 1157-58).⁶² In it, Priest Genshin places a ban upon poetry in the temple because it is “an indulgence in unorthodox thinking [*keron no moteasobi*]” that detracted from the monks from their

⁶¹ Brower and Miner, Ramirez-Christensen, Carter, Marra, Morrell

⁶² The story about Nôin at Shirakawa Barrier is also included in the *Fukuro zôshi*.

spiritual endeavors. He changed his mind, however, upon hearing someone recite a poem by a Priest Mansei 満誓 (8th c.) from *Man'yôshû* III: 351:

yo no naka wo	This life—
nani ni tatoemu	to what should it be compared?
asaborake	At dawn,
kogiyuku fune no	the boats as they row out,
ato no shiranami	with white waves trailing after

Mansei
(*SNKBZ* 6: 210)

In this poem the natural imagery of waves, which disappear without a trace moments after they arise, are paired with the image of a man rowing a boat, a seemingly mundane action that suggests the emptiness of those predictable and constantly repeated endeavors that arise out of desire. Drawing a parallel between these two images creates a metaphor for a fundamental principle of Buddhist thought: that the world is transitory, and human life is inexpressibly fragile. The scene of a solitary boat rowing out into Lake Biwa, waves rising and disappearing in its wake, thus takes on profound meaning with the words, “This life—to what should it be compared?” The effect of this rhetorical pairing was here powerful enough to make Genshin immediately retract his ban on poetry, convinced that poetry is not simply a mundane entertainment, but a means of expressing profound spiritual observations.

This story is also included in Mujû Ichien’s *Shasekishû* 沙石集 (*Collection of Sand and Pebbles* 1283), an anthology of tales related to Buddhist practice and philosophy.⁶³ In the *Shasekishû* version of this anecdote, titled “The Scholar who Came

⁶³ The stories collected in *Shasekishû* offer insights to how poetic composition functions in a broader sociopolitical context than *karon*, which tended to have limited readership. Ultimately, contemporary reception of *Shasekishû* as a religious document and

to Love Poetry,” Genshin is described as a priest who “disapproved of ‘delusional and decorative words’ as a meaningless distraction” (*SNKBZ* 52: 247-248). Here, too, Genshin overhears a young page recite a famous poem and is immediately “moved by the poem, which so aptly matched its words and heart to the moment” (*SNKBZ* 52: 248). In this version, it is unclear exactly what poem convinced Genshin of the efficacy of poetic composition. While Mansei’s poem cited above is offered as an alternate version in this story from the *Shasekishû*, the first poem mentioned in this context is one by Ki no Tsurayuki, which is in *Shûishû* Miscellaneous I, no. 1322:

te ni musubu	Grasped in my hands
mizu ni yadoreru	the water, and upon it
tsuki kage ha	the fleeting reflection of the moon—
aru ka naki ka no	is it there or is it not?
yo ni mo sumu kana	So it is in this world in which we live

Ki no Tsurayuki
(*NWD*)

Regardless, the *Shasekishû* anecdote reaches a similar conclusion as that in the *Fukuro zôshi*, and goes on to explain the multiple ways in which “poetry may express the principles of the Holy Teaching, accompany a sense of impermanence, weaken our worldly ties and profane thoughts, and cause us to forget fame and profit” (Morrell 163; *SNKBZ* 52: 249). The *Shasekishû* tale is concerned with the very same issue that Sôkyû addresses in *Souvenirs*: the relationship between poetic composition and Buddhist practice, and their potential compatibility.

therefore in a category distinct from poetic theory is anachronistic, and the stories dealing with poetic composition in *Shasekishû* contribute to an understanding of the poetic culture of the day.

Central to this question is the concept of *kyôgen kigyo* 狂言綺語. The phrase has been translated in many ways, among them Robert Morrell's translation as "mad words and specious phrases," and William LaFleur's, "floating phrases and fictive utterances" (Morrell 162; LaFleur 8). The repetition of the terms for language in these translations reflects the parallelism of the Chinese phrase (Ch. *kuang-yen yi-yu*). But perhaps it is better to abandon this repetition in favor of simplicity, as well as the capacity for the term "words" in English to indicate both the spoken and written, a complexity of meaning that is shared by the terms, *gen* 言 and *go* 語. Because these characters have such a wide range of meanings and uses, It is counterproductive to try to distinguish the English "phrases," "utterances," "words," etc. as either one or the other, and ultimately beside the point. Instead, the meaning of "words" in English is sufficiently broad and unstable to mean multiple things at once, including an utterance, the written word, literature as a fabrication, and statements intended to be factual or truthful. Another happy coincidence about the term "words" in English is that the conception of words as representing "truth" or "reality" comes under as much scrutiny in medieval Japanese Buddhist discourse as it does in Euro-American post-structuralism of the mid-twentieth century. Words are ultimately and endlessly ambiguous because language, a social construct, can never maintain a one-to-one association between itself and some outside reality it is presumed to represent. To put it in more positivistic terms, the reality lies in the word itself, rather than in its supposed object.

The Ryôgon-in and Eshin-in temples are both a part of the Enryaku-ji temple complex at Mount Hie, an important sacred center of the Capital. Throughout the Heian period, Enryaku-ji became one of the most powerful religious institutions in the region.

Genshin himself is an important figure, the author of the *Ôjôyôshû* 往生要集 (*Essentials of Salvation* 984-85) and an authority on religious practice. These are all important names, and so the anecdote as it is told in *Souvenirs* represents a voice of authority on this issue of the relationship between Buddhist practice and poetic composition. It is thus a powerful endorsement of the vital importance of poetic composition. In short, it presents an argument for the validity of *uta no michi*, the Way of Poetry.

In *Shasekishû*, this story of Genshin at Lake Biwa appears in a section together with other stories that deal with similar issues of the sacred capacity of poetic language. This is primarily expressed as humorous anecdotes about scholars of two different types: those who come to value poetic composition as an expedient means for salvation, as a result of some revelatory exposure to an especially profound poem; and those whose excessive pedantic tendencies detract from their skill in poetic composition, which in turn causes them to struggle in their life and, presumably, in their religious endeavors. After compiling several stories relating various examples of this, the primary argument is summarized in *Shasekishû* with a single pithy statement: “If Buddha had manifested in our land [*wa ga kuni*], he would undoubtedly have expressed his wisdom using our language [*wakoku no kotoba*]” (*SNKBZ* 52: 250).

To this effect, *Shasekishû* constructs a concept of poetry as a ritual language that transcends a distinction between “scholarship,” interpreted narrowly as Buddhist practice, and “delusional and decorative words,” or poetry as a secular entertainment. This argument comes across indirectly in multiple ways, including through refuting the importance of formal scholarship, promoting the practice of *hōraku* 法楽, offering poetry to petition the help of the gods, and attesting to the vital importance poetic excellence has

for one's physical, psychological, and spiritual health. Kamo no Chômei 鴨長明 (1153-1216) uses this mode of anecdotal writing to make a similar series of arguments in *Mumyôshô* 無名抄 (*Nameless Notes* 1211-1216).

This view of poetry as a language of transcendent invocation appears in other theories of poetic composition from the *kana* preface to the *Kokinshû*, which hails poetry as the language with which one can “effortlessly move the heavens and earth, pacify those spirits that exist invisible to our eyes, ease the relations between men and women, and calm the hearts of warriors” (*SNKBZ* 11:17), to the work of Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114-1204) and Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241), whose writings about the efficacy of the then ancient diction of the poetic canon for ideal communication of one's thoughts by “treasuring old words and striving for new heart” (*NKBZ* 50: 471). This memorable phrase is from Teika's *Kindai shûka* 近代秀歌 (*Superior Poems of Our Time* 1209), but appears in Teika's other work as well. It is a development of Shunzei's notion, discussed in *Koraifûteishô* 古来風体抄 (*Collection of Poetic Styles Old and New* 1197), of the relationship between human emotion (*hito no kokoro* 人の心) and the spirit or “essential nature” of old poems and classical poetic diction (*moto no kokoro* 基の心) (*NKBZ* 50: 273).

Another thirteenth-century treatise on poetry explores the question of how poetic composition functions as a mode of idealized and extramundane communication. In *Tamekane-kyô wakashô* 為兼卿和歌抄 (*Lord Tamekane's Notes on Poetry* 1285-1287), author Kyôgoku Tamekane 京極為兼 (1254-1332) introduces his concept of “reciprocity” (*sôô* 相応) a state that facilitates a mode of universal communication and mutual

understanding. The treatise follows the work of these thinkers, from Tsurayuki to Teika, to posit poetry as the most suitable discourse with which to interact with all other beings, including gods and buddhas. In the argument, the text appears to contrast “scholarship” (*saigaku* 才学) against “heart-mind” or human thought and emotion (*kokoro* 心) as two opposing factors in the Way of Poetry. In this scheme, scholarship represents a negative influence in the process of composing excellent poetry. Rather than helping the poet acquire a deeper understanding of poetic practice, it simply distracts him from the most important objective: Finding true reciprocity with the world in which the poet exists. This idea of reciprocity with one’s natural surroundings can of course refer specifically to Tamekane’s discussion of the term “reciprocity” itself. However, the term “reciprocity,” taken in a more general sense of interaction with the poet’s environment, an emotional or philosophical response to the stimuli from the natural world around him, in fact allows us to define *kokoro* as something like the poet’s “sincere intention” or “essential nature.”⁶⁴

The notion of reciprocity in *Tamekane* shows that in this particular case, *kokoro* means “sincere intention, essential nature” (*hon’i* 本意). First of all, Tamekane’s positioning of the word *kokoro* in opposition to scholarship shows that he thought of *kokoro* not only as a natural characteristic occurring in all humans, but also, like scholarship, as a characteristic that one is capable of cultivating, for two things must have certain basic similarities before they can be effectively contrasted. This excludes an interpretation of *kokoro* as “emotion” or “feelings,” or possibly even as “sensitivity.” Furthermore, Tamekane’s reference to the *Kanajo* of the *Kokinshû* in mentioning “the

⁶⁴ In this sense, there is a close resemblance between *kokoro* and *hon’i* 本意 another important term in poetic discourse of the medieval period.

nightingale who sings among the flowers, the frog who croaks in his pond, indeed, every living creature” (Huey & Mastioff 133) involved in the composition of poetry supports this idea that *kokoro* is not limited to human experience, but exists in all living things in the natural world.

In order for humans to achieve a real reciprocity with the world around them, as Tamekane suggests is both possible and necessary for poetic excellence, there must also be a common means of interaction between the poet and his environment. If this interaction is indeed necessary for poetic inspiration, it becomes necessary to expand one’s view of the natural world to include every inanimate aspect, including “the flowers, the moon, the fading darkness of dawn, and the setting of the sun” as well as the seasons and the landscape—the poet’s environment that exists outside of and surrounds the poet—because these are also the subjects of poetry (*NKBZ* 50: 160). If it is not possible to say that a particular stream, for instance, or the season of spring, literally possesses *kokoro* as all living creatures do, then the essence of the inanimate natural world that so moves the poet is *hon’i*. Tamekane’s instructions to the poet to achieve a state of reciprocal interaction with the natural world thus requires a communication of *hon’i*, which he discusses in terms of the word *kokoro*.

The above examples from *Shasekishû* and *Tamekane* represent just a sample of the philosophical precedents for contrasting scholarly learning (*saigaku*) against the profound emotional-conscious state (*kokoro*) that is characteristic both of the religious

practitioner and of the accomplished poet.⁶⁵ The story of Genshin discussed in *Souvenirs for the Capital*, then, is an example of a revelatory experience in which poetry refines the worldview of this individual, a symbol of power within the religious institution, discussed here as the “scholar.” This story of the efficacy of poetic composition, which makes elegant use of the revelatory tale format common in Buddhist proselytizing stories, thus makes the case for poetry as a means for deepening one’s capacity for philosophical thought in conjunction with Buddhist practice.

Based on this function of poetic composition as a means for enlightenment and ideal communication with one’s environment, it becomes clear that such travel journals as *Souvenirs for the Capital* used poems as a way to access a state of reciprocity with a famous place. Poetry, as the heightened language of ideal communication, was the means for doing so. The following chapters explore in greater detail the explicitly ritualistic functions of poetic composition. But first it is necessary to examine the central theme of the poems composed during a journey: the place name as an indication and interpretation of an idealized space.

In acknowledging the various roles of the traveler-poet, Sôkyû finds himself again “following into the past the tracks left under trees and over rocks,”⁶⁶ as a result of the rich history of travelers before him.

Just as the sun was setting, I arrived at Shiogama Bay. The sacred symbol of that temple is manifested as a salt cauldron , and I spent the night praying before it. There was a road with a tall bridge that crossed

⁶⁵ It becomes clearer that *kokoro* works here to embody such meanings as the “essential nature” or “sincere intention” of the poet, which makes the term more closely resemble the Japanese *hon’i* 本意.

⁶⁶ *Tsuto* 348; *Souvenirs* 1. Among these “tracks” left by his predecessors, the Priest Saigyô (西行 1118-1190) stands out as one of the most important for Sôkyû.

over an inlet that faces the eastern side of the bay. Another road skirted the waterside, and there was also a road running along the mountain, fully in its shadow. The smoke rising up from all the houses of the fishermen, built in rows one after another, looked like it might be from the salt fires. The mooring lines of the boats paddling through the bay were strings pulling at my heart from this place. I could hear the bracing sound of the slapping oars in the moonlight of the deepening night, and felt very lonely. A man of old once said, “Among the more than sixty provinces of our emperor, there is no place that can be said to resemble Shiogama,” and I thought it so:

ariake no	With the dawn moon receding
tsuki to tomo ni ya	over Shiogama Bay
Shiogama no	the boats follow
ura kogu fune mo	rowing farther
tôzakuramu	farther from shore

Sôkyû
(*Tsuto* 358)

Perhaps it is because he is making his way farther into country that looks entirely novel to him that Sôkyû describes the landscape in a way that suggests he is witnessing the scene, rather than drawing upon poetic references to construct a more familiar image of the place. It is not that the territory is entirely unfamiliar to him, which he makes clear by quoting from a poem by Ariwara no Narihira, the “man of old.” Based on other episodes of *Souvenirs*, one can imagine Sôkyû writing a much more austere introduction to his poem, for example, something to the effect of “This is where a man of old said, ‘there is no place that can be said to resemble Shiogama’ and I thought this to be so,” and simply rely on the reader’s knowledge of the *Tales of Ise* to recognize the quote and to make the connection, filling in the imagined scenes with details from the older work. The same can also be said for his mention of the salt fires, an allusion to a *Kokinshû* poem.

There is some reason that this passage describes the view in such detail, rather than letting another’s words do this for him. Yet, including these allusions, and naming

the site to which they are attached is still an important part of the passage, not only because it enriches the current description, but also because it works to situate both Sôkyû and the reader into a community of informed poetic practitioners. Sôkyû strikes a balance between *kotoba*, or borrowed words from past poems, and *kokoro*, or his own impressions expressed through those words.

Place Names as Idealized Space

Poetic composition is thus a central part of representing travel, in which the traveler poet interacts with each famous place in turn. In the Shirakawa Barrier passage, for example, the reader speculates about Nôin's famous poem, pictures the courtier Takeda no Kuniyuki composing himself before continuing across the Barrier, and finally imagines the ferocity of the autumn wind so far north of the Capital as described in Sôkyû's poem. In the Mount Mirror passage, the reader similarly imagines the figure of a wandering monk in dark robes, and considers the prospect of looking upon one's reflection with either bold acceptance or trepidation after passing months or years of hardship on the road. In each example, all of factors that describe the place, or construct an image of the place in the reader's mind, draw from a set of references, the most common of which are poems in the literary canon. The images from these references work together in order to contribute to an image of the Shirakawa Barrier, or Mount Mirror, as a famous place.

In both cases, poetry is the predominant language by which the traveler Sôkyû interacts with that place. This interaction typically unfolds in a prescribed way according to the reputation, context, or the "aura," of the place in question. That is, the image of the

“Shirakawa Barrier” or the “Mount Mirror” as it appears in *Souvenirs* more closely resembles an ideal that is based on a set of images that exists in the social imagination. This shared imagery exists typically as a result of the combined history, literary and cultural context of that place. In addition to this, the shared imagery is constantly shifting depending on how each successive generation of traveler-poets interacts with the famous place and contributes to the body of works that describe the place. The traveler’s interaction with a place thus continues to be shaped and dictated by the individual auras of each famous place, resulting in a canon of prescribed behavior that revolves around the place name.⁶⁷

It is also possible to extend the idea of reciprocity (*sôô*) to a sense of space in poetic practice. When the role of the traveler is reader and composer of poetry, the poem is a product of the reciprocal interaction between the poet and his environment. In travel journals, then, the poem composed becomes the site of interaction. It is the physical and temporal point of interaction, a trace of the moment when the poet connects with the famous place, the previously demarcated portion of the landscape that surrounds him. In this way the poem itself—a material trace of that moment—can continue the exchange by making the site/instant of the initial interaction available to successive readers. The reader in turn brings his own name, or perhaps *kokoro*, into this communication process, by interpreting words and allusions in ways specific to the reader, thus extending the interaction even further. Perhaps then, the poem becomes both a window through which

⁶⁷ This “act of naming” is not limited to the place names themselves, but extends to the people and literary works included in the *meisho* as well. The issue of naming famous people and literary works will be explored further in the context of Nijô Yoshimoto’s *Solace of Words at Ojima* (Chapter 2).

the reader and the poet may view and interact with the aura of the natural world and of his fellow poets, as well as a mirror in which he may find his own *kokoro* reflected.

As Sôkyû moves on from Mount Kagami toward Mount Sayanonaka he lists the places—all *utamakura*—that he passes on the way, as though in a single breath: “I passed through the well-known places, such as Fuwa Barrier, Narumi Bay, Mount Takashi, and Mount Futamura, and I have come all the way to Mount Sayanonaka.” This is the extent to which Sôkyû writes of his time on the road between Mount Kagami and Mount Sayanonaka. In geographical terms, it is a distance of roughly 200 kilometers, a significant distance to cover in a single sentence. As it is, the places themselves seem only slightly more important than the time it took to work his way through that stretch of land. It is here that Sôkyû relies upon the context suggested by the names as *utamakura* to speak in his stead, relying as well on the reader’s awareness of the meaning held therein.

Once he reaches Mount Sayanonaka, however, he investigates the historical details about the name of this place:

As the number of days on the road to the East went silently by one after another, I passed through the well-known places, such as Fuwa Barrier, Narumi Bay, Mount Takashi, and Mount Futamura, and I have come all the way to Mount Sayanonaka. This is where Saigyô wrote, “Did I ever think I would cross through again?” and I could not help but agree how moving it was.

It seems that there are differing opinions on whether it is called Mount *Saya-no-naka* or Mount *Sayo-no-naka*. When Middle Counselor Moronaka came down to this province [Suruga] on duty, he called it “Mount Sayononaka,” and it seems that the Heian poets before me, too, wrote it this way. Even in the anthologies, I feel one may find this. Minamoto Yorimasa of the third rank called it Mount Naga. This time, when I asked an old man who was there, without hesitation, he answered simply, “Mount Sayanonaka.”

koko ha mata

When once again

izuku to toeba
amabiko no
kotauru koe mo
Sayanonaka yama

I ask where is this place
the voices echo
clearly in response:
Mount Sayanonaka

Sôkyû
(*Tsuto* 349-50)

There is so much emphasis on the multiple influences at work in this relatively brief passage, our impression of a Mount Sayanonaka as a geographical place, and the distance Sôkyû traveled to get there, is all but obscured by the various references that contribute to the meaning of the place name. These references become the chorus of resounding voices of all the poets who rise to acknowledge it and all but drown out the elderly resident's candid response about his home: "Mount Sayanonaka."

This passage shows that the names of famous people are equally as important as place names when making allusions in the prose sections of *Souvenirs*. And just as a place name draws the reader's attention to the poems that have been composed about that place, the person's name is a reference to the poetry that those people have written. Verbalizing a name—whether the name of a person or place—is a meaningful act. Sôkyû's reference to priests, statesmen, and even anonymous poets of the anthologies in his investigation into the name of Mount Sayanonaka, for example, demonstrates that poetic fluency was a primary social obligation to men and women of all stations associated with the court. Here, Sôkyû names the Heian poet and Middle Councilor Moronaka (dates unknown), likely assigned to an official post in Suruga province, and another statesman-poet Minamoto no Yorimasa 源頼政 (1104-80), as well as the innumerable "Heian poets before," and finally gives voice to all the poetic anthologies themselves. He invokes a whole rank of poets across centuries in his treatment of this

utamakura, both those who he is certain have passed through Mount Sayanonaka, as well as those of whom he is not aware, and whose numbers are certainly great enough to account for the variance in pronunciation.

Finally, in the words “this time” just before the poem, Sôkyû includes himself among that assembly, suggesting that he is simply taking his turn among the succession of wandering pilgrim-poets who have already and will continue to proceed through this place, an image supported by our knowledge today that others will indeed follow him.⁶⁸

There is no common goal or motivation—no overarching purpose that inspires every traveler to go on the road and record his experiences in a travel journal. However, the journal structure takes up a primary interest once the traveler begins his journey: To commune with the famous places in person, through their names and their auras. The travel journal is a manifestation of the desire to look upon the views that had moved so many others to poetic composition. To make the journey is to solidify in the traveler’s mind the imagined scenes that made up the landscape of Japan.

Souvenirs appears to be a pilgrimage—a journey for which the traveler changes to the dark priest’s robes, undergoes training at temples, and prays at the sacred sites along the way. This is the case with many travel journals, and some are explicitly labeled as such. This statement of overt intention, which was just as likely to be applied centuries later by early modern publishers as by the “author,” makes it tempting to draw a parallel across all travel writing and discuss travel to famous sites as a metaphor for pilgrimage. In one sense, every travel journal that deals with *utamakura* and *meisho*, regardless of the

⁶⁸ The historical approach Sôkyû adopts in *Souvenirs* to better understand the *utamakura*, among other techniques and themes, anticipates Bashô’s *Narrow Road to the Deep North*, which is arguably the best-known travel diary in Japan’s literary history.

intentions declared in its introduction, is indeed a pilgrimage in which the poems become offerings that elevate the *meisho* to the realm of the sacred. But this is ultimately too simplistic a view that imposes a dichotomous relationship between sacred and mundane that did not necessarily exist at the time.

A pilgrimage is the simultaneous act of following the footsteps of one's predecessors while inscribing one's own footsteps into the landscape. As Ian Reader observes, the pilgrim's consciousness of this continual process places him within a geographic community that extends temporal barriers, and allows him to "recognize that their own footsteps and imprints may also influence those who come afterward" (65). It is fitting, then, that *Souvenirs* opens with Sôkyû's declaration to "follow into the past the tracks left under trees and over rocks."

Then Sôkyû alludes to a poem by the priest Saigyô, anthologized in *SKKS Travel*, no. 987:

toshi takete	Did I ever think
mata koyubeshi to	I would cross here again
omoiki ya	after aging so many years?
inochi narikeri	Such is this life
Sayanonaka yama	Mount Sayanonaka

Saigyô
(*SNKBZ* 43: 291)

Here Saigyô voices his surprise at having been able to come to this place a second time. Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen (2008) points out that the phrase "Such is this life" (*inochi narikeri*), in its simplicity and raw expressiveness, opens the poem to "all sorts of interpretations beyond the first reading, 'that I should live to see it'" (233n38).

After alluding to Saigyô's poem in his journal, Sôkyû expresses his reaction in the phrase, "I could not help but agree how moving it was" (*Tsuto* 349). Against the

profound insight of Saigyô's poem, Sôkyû's response is short, and in the case of *Souvenirs*, redundant. Because such statements of agreement with old poems occur with some frequency throughout *Souvenirs*, it is tempting to read them as a mechanical response, a fixed reaction that reflects Sôkyû's nostalgia for a classical past that is out of reach except for through these views of the landscape. This is even more pressing an issue for the contemporary reader when such passages are compared to the more detailed empirical descriptions of scenes, as at Shiogama Bay.

However, closer examination shows that such an approach to the famous place—through the lens of an old poem—is in fact used in travel writing as a way to highlight the traveler's response to his surroundings. It is easily overlooked because using highly allusive place names together with classical diction to convey meaning appears to emphasize those “old words” and all but obscure the “new heart.” Ever since the first imperial poetic anthology, accomplished poets have discussed the optimal balance between words (*kotoba*) and emotional response (*kokoro*). It is possible that such complex techniques of allusive variation have similarly drawn so much attention as to drown out the voice of the poet during this time. The medieval period is often characterized as a time of decline for poetic composition in the *waka* form (31-syllable poem). Literary commentary of the twentieth century points to this period as the time when poetic composition became an increasingly arcane and stagnant practice, with innovation and interest of poetic composition shifting to *renga* 連歌 (linked verse). But the repetition of the old poems was not simply an act of looking backward to an intangible past. More than this, it was a way to express new thoughts, which, when paired with the old words of the literary canon, became a site of great potential for changing the

meaning and import of those words. The use of place names was indeed driven by the primary audience of educated elite, who were not only well-read, but were also practicing poets themselves. Most readers, it seems, were perfectly able to recognize, appreciate, and employ place names in references that would remain obscure to the uninformed reader.

Naming and Interacting with Place: *Michiyuki*

Place names are an important tool for expressing the aura—the historical, literary, and cultural context—of the famous places that are described in the travel journals.⁶⁹ The place name works to conjure up images of an idealized space. Space is idealized here in the sense that the visible scenery is enhanced by the viewer’s knowledge of the rich context associated with the place. The place name facilitates interaction with the named place, particularly through the ritualistic recitation and composition of poetry. However, the complexity of meaning that is suggested in a place name is at times more of a barrier to understanding the possible scope of meaning that can be contained within a single name. An examination of how the name represents geography in a concrete way is a more productive approach to understanding the place name at work in travel writing.

This function of place names is made even more apparent in the trope of *michiyuki* 道行, or “travel scenes.” *Michiyuki* means, literally, “going along the road” and as such it can suggest both the act of travel that is expressed in temporal terms of movement, or the landscape represented in spatial terms. The first line of the Mount

⁶⁹ In relation to this, we will see that the extensive use of place names is not limited to travel writing, or even literary works such as poetry, but arise in important ways in painting and performance traditions in the medieval period.

Sayanonaka passage is an example of a *michiyuki*: “I passed through the well-known places, such as Fuwa Barrier, Narumi Bay, Mount Takashi, and Mount Futamura, and I have come all the way to Mount Sayanonaka.” In addition to the contextual meaning contained in the place name, the concept of *michiyuki* is another important key to interacting with texts and images that depict travel or pilgrimage as movement through space.

Michiyuki is a device most commonly associated with such theatrical forms as *nô* 能, *jôruri* 浄瑠璃 puppet theater, and *kabuki* 歌舞伎. However, it arises in travel journals in which the traveling figure names a string of the famous places he visits, typically as a list in a prose passage. *Michiyuki* alternately compresses and expands the landscape to reflect a figure’s passage through it. It takes time, for example, to cover a stretch of road as the pilgrim moves from site to site. Pilgrims setting out to any region, typically on foot, expected to take weeks or months to complete their journey.⁷⁰ Similarly, the remote reader must take time to process the numerous details in the narrative object, as in a travel diary, in which the traveler’s account jumps from site to site without providing details about the roads between, or with little interest in the time spent or distance traveled in moving from point to point. This is an extreme condensation of the format of the travel journal in which the episodes are bookmarked by the author’s arrival at famous places and his subsequent poems inspired by their landscapes.

⁷⁰ Indeed the transition many made to the “mossy robes” of the lay monk, or the white pilgrim’s garb symbolizing death, emphasized the possibility of never returning home. This suggests one immediate (perhaps the primary) difference between actual and virtual pilgrimage as I define them here.

The more frequently a place name is used in poetry and appears in the literary canon, the more complexity and richness of meaning that place name tends to acquire. Judging by the brevity of the *michiyuki* passages, there is presumably little reason for the text to go into much detail about the named famous places. This may be in part because their meaning is often implied in the names themselves. But the practice of naming famous places without providing further information also assumes an audience that is familiar with the literary canon of the day, aware of the various names that are being referenced, and has sufficient knowledge and experience to make these connections across all aspects of the role of traveler-poet. In terms of how that passage on Motoara represents the geography, in contrast to the aura of the respective place, there is a similar process of extreme condensation of the landscape rather than meaning, and the same is true of the *michiyuki* passage that brings Sôkyû to Mount Sayanonaka.

It seems at first as though *Souvenirs* is leaving the reader to make the connections to the contextual meanings of the place names independently of the text. But we can observe a few things about these *michiyuki* passages. First, the act of declaring the place names has a ritual function. Listing the names in order with no other words has an incantatory effect. Perhaps this is to invoke the protection of the deities associated with each place. This may not necessarily be a conscious act, but a residual practice that has continued since a time when there were deities closely associated with each place.

In a practical sense, *michiyuki* shows the landscape. Although the *michiyuki* passage seems minimalistic, it is a representation of a vast view of the landscape.⁷¹ In the

⁷¹ This is comparable to the function of landscape in poetry. In the *Man'yôshû*, for example, there are broad views of a landscape, as well. And because natural imagery is

travel journal, *michiyuki* also shows movement. In poetry that describes a landscape, particularly the long poems (*chôka* 長歌) of the *Man'yôshû*, the point of view that represents a broad stretch of a landscape is relatively static. The landscape is vast, and gaze moves in wide strokes over the various aspects of that landscape, but there is typically a single point from which the viewer looks and describes what he sees. In terms of how the landscape is represented, a *michiyuki* scene seems to be the opposite of this. Our view is narrowed to a pinpoint, through which only the place name can emerge. Perhaps this suggests a shift from a high-angle view to a map view.

Finally, the following chapters will show that *michiyuki* is a way to make a direct link to the performance of power and authority. This is related to the ritual use of poetry and place names, as in the example of eighth-century land-viewing (*kunimi*) poetry of the *Man'yôshû*. In addition to the ritualistic act of listing the names one after another, there is the underlying assumption that the traveler has seen these places, and so can claim possession of those places in an authoritative way.

Distinguishing Center and Periphery: Named and Anonymous Space

In travel writing, there is of course intense focus on the traveler's interaction with famous places, as well as on using place names as a designation of those famous places. In this sense, a travel journal is the project of making distinctions between named places and the space that surrounds it that remains anonymous because it has not been named. As such, a depiction of travel becomes a subjective construction of space into a

such a central part of poetic composition, a vast majority of the waka in the imperial anthologies could be characterized as representative of a landscape, at least in part. See Shirane 2013.

network of centers and peripheries. An important function of *Souvenirs* is to distinguish the famous places as a series of specific locations that sit apart from the anonymous space around them. This process of making distinctions is not unique to *Souvenirs*, but rather a common feature across travel journals as well as a wide range of other genres and media.

As such, the practice of naming contributes to the construction of a system of space as a network of centers and peripheries. Victor Turner's theory of liminal space, too, depends upon identifying a center/periphery construct in order to illustrate and give meaning to the pilgrim's exit from and subsequent reentry into the social structure via his entrance into the liminal. However, in travel journals, while naming is an act of making distinctions between places as having value or otherwise, the distinction between center and periphery is not as consistent or clear-cut as the idea of Capital as a center surrounded by its periphery.⁷² This surfaces early on in *Souvenirs*, with Sôkyû's arrival of the Ôsaka Barrier:

I left the Capital still shrouded in the darkness of night. The remaining brightness of the pre-dawn moon was reflected in the waves of the East River.⁷³ One could hear the voices of the calling birds carrying over to the distant village, and the hazy view of the sky traversed by mist was quite lovely. Soon, I crossed the Ôsaka Barrier.⁷⁴ The road beneath the cedars was still dark, and my footsteps echoed uncertainly upon the rocky surface of the Barrier.⁷⁵ At what point did I come to be so far

⁷² See also Adolphsen et al. (2007).

⁷³ By "East [*higashi*] River" Sôkyû perhaps means the Kamo river, which is on the east side of Kyoto.

⁷⁴ Mount Ôsaka: This name can also be read Au-saka, or "Meeting Hill," in the old Japanese. A check-point on the road through the mountains on the border of Yamashiro and Ômi provinces (present day Kyoto and Shiga prefectures), an *utamakura*.

⁷⁵ *Shin goshûi shû* Travel, Fujiwara Fuyuhira: "No sunlight filters onto the road under the cedars that takes me across—the birds' calls in the darkness at Osaka Barrier" (「越えて行く杉の下道明けやらで鳥のね暗き逢坂の関」). *Shûi shû* Fall, Fujiwara no Takatô: "Osaka Barrier—our footsteps ring out on the stone path as I depart from the mountain on my Kirihara horse" (「逢坂の関の岩角踏み鳴らし山立ち出づる桐原の駒」)

removed from the Capital? I felt it as a distance of three thousand miles,⁷⁶ and my thoughts still lingered upon the Capital, even more than on my hometown (*Tsuto* 349).

In this passage Sôkyû's departure from the Capital begins the journey that he records in *Souvenirs*. The concept of the Capital representing a center in relation to its periphery is quite strong in the language here, particularly from the sense that arises early on in the passage that it is the Capital from which he is departing. Although he notes in the final line of this passage that it is not his hometown, he feels a stronger sense of longing and nostalgia for the Capital than he does for his hometown. This statement is underscored by the fact that there is no such departure scene connected with Tsukushi, beyond a simple statement: "I left Tsukushi to lose myself in wandering here and there." Sôkyû is reflecting on his sorrow over having left the Capital behind, once again, because this is the proper location to do so. Sôkyû has just passed the Ôsaka Barrier, an important symbol of the gateway from the familiar to the wilderness that lies beyond the Capital's civilizing influence, and it has become conventional in poetic practice to view the Ôsaka barrier as a sort of "point of no return" that signals to both traveler and reader that the journey is truly getting underway.

Even when there is no poem to accompany the prose passage, then, the place name serves as a link between its history and the traveling poet in representations of travel.⁷⁷ In this sense, the place name represents a liminal space. It is a threshold through

⁷⁶ An allusion to a *Shinsen rôeishû* poem. The poem is also cited in *Tôkan kikô*. Bashô makes an allusion in his *Oku no hosomichi* to this passage from *Souvenirs*.

⁷⁷ In the next chapter, on Yoshimoto's *The Solace of Words at Ojima*, we will further explore this use of place names in the context of constructing a history and establishing/justifying authority through precedent; and the role of place names in pointing to a construction of a personal literary lineage through a sense of *communitas*. In

which the traveler gains access to both the idealized “aura” of the place and to the extended group of other travelers who are thought to have visited that place. The latter is a sense of Turner’s *communitas* that extends through time—into history to the traveler’s predecessors, and ahead to those travelers who will come to the site in the future. For this, I will return to the passage at Shirakawa Barrier to illustrate how each of these facets works together and simultaneously in the text of *Souvenirs for the Capital*.

Shirakawa Barrier: A Full Analysis

This is where the process of distinguishing a certain place from the space around it begins to take shape. In a spatial sense, the area that Sôkyû identifies as Shirakawa Barrier is specific in the sense of an area that is defined and kept apart. In this sense, the famous place is clearly designated by the existence of a recognizable landmark or artifact, some physical object that functions in a way similar to *shimenawa* 注連縄, a rope that is used for ritual signification of the sacred in local *kami* traditions. Whether it is Sôkyû who finds the ruins of the guardhouse, or a later traveler who approaches a large stone marker inscribed with Nôin’s famous poem, travelers use these physical objects act as a marker for a threshold “into” this *utamakura* site.⁷⁸ Recognizable physical objects mark a boundary that distinguishes between an important poetic “center” and the surrounding “periphery.” The act of naming a certain point in a vast landscape makes a distinction that isn’t necessarily immediately visibly apparent. This constructs the boundaries of a

the case of *Ojima*, the use of place names becomes more transparently an act of appropriation, through naming and interpretation

⁷⁸ Sometimes no physical object remains to give us a clue about where the important site was, as with Bashô’s grasses in his “soldiers’ dreams” poem.

specific place, and infuses that place with meaning and importance, while the land around that place becomes generic, or anonymous.

As visitor to an important *utamakura* site, Sôkyû engages his knowledge of that site's history, adjusting his awareness so the distance between him and the past is contracted.⁷⁹ The space itself becomes a center in the sense that it is a sacred space, invested with more meaning, and thus more importance, than the space around it. It becomes an arena of heightened awareness, or of an "otherworld" in that it allows contact with an otherwise inaccessible past. It is Sôkyû's sensitivity to the history of that *utamakura* that lends the space its spiritual liveliness compared to the anonymous space that surrounds it, even when the landscape is indistinguishable.

Sôkyû, by composing his own waka, is actively constructing a response—similar to the practice of linking verse in *renga*—to those poems by earlier traveler-poets. And by composing his own waka, Sôkyû enters into a dialogue with important predecessors, thus establishing an impromptu poetic lineage for himself. The poem utilizes the history of this *utamakura* site: it envisions a landscape saturated with meaning in order to posit a direct link to Sôkyû's perceived predecessors, and it demonstrates Sôkyû's aesthetic ideal for a literary form with significant political application. This act of drawing from the canon, while also demonstrating knowledge of it, helps him into a position to contribute to it, in the form of his own poetry entering the literary canon.

⁷⁹ Adjustment as a manipulation—an exercise of one's knowledge together with one's agency to actively shape the experience one has in a place. This is what makes the distance between himself and people/moments from a different historical time is contracted, and thus more accessible to him (and indirectly, to the reader, although it is in part the promise of agency in such an experience that is motivation for people to set out on journeys in person, rather than simply to experience them virtually through text or image).

Sôkyû then goes on to repeat this process at other *utamakura* sites until at the end of his journey, he records the string of experiences in a journal that highlights one or two key waka together with his responses to each. This network of *utamakura* centers that are interspersed with anonymous peripheries becomes the framework that gives shape to *The Capital Souvenirs*, and this is the case in nearly any other example of travel journal of the time. This basic structure also creates a forum for the traveler/poet to present his own compositions, and goes beyond mere convention. Just as with Abutsu's *Diary of the Waning Moon*, Sôkyû's *Souvenirs* becomes more than an attempt at emulating a classical literary tradition; it represents the writer's appropriation of that tradition, and a move toward developing a poetics, or *karon*.

Sôkyû's passage on the Shirakawa Barrier manipulates narrated time to show Sôkyû's spatial movement from the Capital to Shirakawa, especially when read together with the two waka included in the passage—both Nôin's, which Sôkyû cites in full in the prose introduction, and his own, which concludes the passage. In Nôin's waka, the spring mists of the Capital juxtaposed against the autumn wind of the barrier emphasize the poet's distance from the Capital:

Miyako wo ba
kasumi to tomo ni
tachishikado
akikaze zo fuku
Shirakawa no seki

I left the Capital
with the rising mists of spring
but now it is the autumn wind
that is blowing
Shirakawa Barrier

Nôin
(*Tsuto* 354)

It took nearly half a year, and two changes of the seasons, to walk to Shirakawa no seki.

Time passes evenly and in proportion to the distance that Nôin travels on his journey.

Practically speaking, it probably would have taken Nôin a little under a month to reach

Shirakawa no seki from Kyoto.⁸⁰ But this waka gives the impression that every footstep consistently takes Nôin farther away from the Capital in space and time alike. Thus the contrast in the seasons only emphasizes the sense that the two places are as good as a world apart.

In comparison, there is an ambiguous sense of passing time in Sôkyû's waka:

Miyako ni mo	In the Capital, too,
ima ya fukuramu	it must be blowing even now—
akikaze no	the autumn wind
mi ni shimiwataru	that permeates my very body
Shirakawa no seki	at Shirakawa Barrier

Sôkyû
(*Tsuto* 354)

On the one hand, if distance and time are passing together and uniformly as in Nôin's poem, it seems that more than a year has cycled since Sôkyû had first set out wandering, in that he leaves the Capital in the fall and arrives at the Shirakawa Barrier the following autumn. So the linear nature of the narrative falls into question. On the other hand, if Sôkyû, like Nôin, had left Kyoto in the spring and arrives at the Shirakawa Barrier in autumn, then it becomes clear that Sôkyû is treating the passage of time and the distance of travel in very different ways. The waka applies a uniform temporality to the two places—it is autumn in the Capital just as it is at the Shirakawa Barrier. This either reflects a more literal reading of Sôkyû's experience, which would suggest that it did not

⁸⁰ Bruce Batten (2003) shows that travel from Kyoto to Shirakawa Barrier would have taken roughly 20-24 days, according to his map, "Travel distance from Heian-kyô circa 900 C.E., based on data in *Engishiki* (Shukei jô)" (34). On the one hand, it is reasonable to presume that Sôkyû's travel time in the fourteenth century may have been less than this, thanks to infrastructural improvements since the tenth century. On the other hand, it is clear that Sôkyû did not have speed as his primary goal in travel, and so it may have taken him significantly longer to reach Shirakawa Barrier, taking into account the potential for circuitous routes or extended stays in places along the way.

take so very long to get to the Barrier, or it significantly contracts the distance between the two places by representing the passage of time disproportionately to the distance that he has traveled.⁸¹ The latter is the more likely interpretation, in part because the wind is so penetrating that very same gust appears to blow through the Capital, pierce Sôkyû's robes, and is anthropomorphized to cross the Shirakawa Barrier, all at the same time. This has the effect of contracting the distance between the two places, and of further disorienting the reader's sense of how time has passed in Sôkyû's narrative.

The construction of the opening sentence works to establish the destination for that particular leg of the journey. In the case of the Shirakawa Barrier, this opening line suggests that the seasons of spring and autumn are an integral part of those spatial markers in the context of travel as both a spatial and temporal progression. In addition to this, the Barrier, as a point to be crossed, suggests that it is indeed acting as a gateway that provides access to the figure of Nôin, what appears to be the "true" destination for Sôkyû.

Shirakawa Barrier is an ancient military post in Michinoku province that was originally established to guard against hostile outsiders, but had long since fallen into

⁸¹ Komparu Kunio, in his discussion of temporal-spatial expressions in *nô* performance, points out that *michiyuki*, or "going along the road" is one of the most common rhetorical techniques to show travel—expressing the passage of time and distance by calling out place names along the road, and significantly contracting the time and space in between each place. This technique is not limited to *nô*, and is in fact applied quite commonly in *kikô bungaku*, including several sections of *The Capital Souvenirs*. This particular passage on the Shirakawa Barrier, however, does not use *michiyuki*: there is no mention of other important place names near it, and no list-like succession of place names that lie next to each other along the road. Therefore this section represents another means of handling space/time representation for the purpose of representing travel.

disuse.⁸² Nonetheless, its name appears in a wide range of poems within the canon. For example, Nôin's poem, which is recited, or re-cited, in full in the *Souvenirs* passage, focuses on the change of seasons as an indication of the time that has passed on the road from the capital. Another important poem that is suggested but not overtly mentioned in Sôkyû's passage is one by a Heian poet and politician, Taira no Kanemori 平兼盛 (d. 990), anthologized in *Shûishû* Parting, no. 339:

On having crossed the Shirakawa Barrier in Mutsu Province

tayori araba	If there were a way,
ikade Miyako e	I would send word
tsugeyaramu	to the Capital
kyô Shirakawa no	that today at last I am crossing
seki ha koenu to	the Shirakawa Barrier

Taira no Kanemori
(*NWD*)

Kanemori's poem is a good example of one that characterizes the Capital as a center, with Shirakawa Barrier as the far reaches of wilderness. In it he laments the great distance from the Capital to the Barrier, and also, it would seem, the lack of culture, society, and technology that would otherwise be available in the Capital.

Saigyô's poem sets the immortality and constancy of the moon and the seasons against the fragility and mortality of human effort—not just himself as a homeless

⁸² Shirakawa Barrier is listed today among the “Three Barriers of the Deep North” (Okushû no sanseki 奥州三関), along with Nezu Barrier 鼠ヶ関 and Nakoso Barrier 勿来の関. In addition to Priest Nôin, Sôkyû makes reference to Takeda no Kuniyuki, whose story is included in the *Fukurozôshi*. Bashô remembers Takeda no Kuniyuki in *Oku no hosomichi* for decorating his hair with deutzia, a shrub with sprays of delicate white flowers, before crossing the Shirakawa Barrier (by including Sora's poem on the subject). Other poems treating Shirakawa Barrier include those by Taira no Kanemori 平兼盛 (d. 990), Minamoto no Yorimasa 源頼政 (1104-1180), and Saigyô 西行 (1118-1190).

wanderer, but also in the structure of the Barrier as built by human hands and now falling into ruin. In so doing the poem creates a breathtaking image of the moonlight falling on the fiery colors of the autumn leaves:

Shirakawa no
sekiya wo tsuki no
moru kage wa
hito no kokoro wo
tomuru narikeri

At the barrier house
of Shirakawa
the dripping rays of moonlight
stop in wonder
a traveler's heart

Saigyô
(NWD)

The images in each of these poems works together to create a patchwork of images of the Shirakawa Barrier. Based on these poems, Sôkyû and his contemporaries would know that the Barrier is classically associated with the falling leaves and cold wind of autumn; the ruins of a military post in long disuse; a sudden desire to communicate with the capital, juxtaposed with the realization of how far away it now is; and efforts, however small, to make an appearance of civility as one crosses the barrier gates, a symbol of courtly propriety despite its rough surroundings. These are the images that Sôkyû would have held in his mind long before seeing the landscape in person. Little wonder, then, that they play such an important role in his description of the place, regardless of the scenes that may have confronted him upon his arrival.

The narrative style of *Souvenirs*, with its elements of a so-called distorted experience of a “real” time and space, exposes the gaps that arise between the various roles of traveler, poet, and narrator that would presumably exist within a single body—the figure of Sôkyû. And with the anecdotes about Nôin and Takeda no Kuniyuki, the text draws our attention even more sharply to the layers of performance that are necessarily involved in successfully acting out, or perhaps more aptly living up to, the

roles of wandering lay-priest, poet, courtier, politician. In other words, Sôkyû as narrator constructs an experience that differs, if only slightly, from what we may assume Sôkyû as traveler, and yet again as poet, could have experienced. He does this while also focusing on the explicitly performative acts of other famous visitors to the same place. In so doing, he pinpoints a gap between the various roles a single figure must play in order to draw our attention to common assumptions of the day about composing poetry on canonical *utamakura* sites, and specifically addresses the performative work of constantly creating and publicly presenting one's poetic compositions in order to remain an active member of the court. It is against this backdrop that we begin to recognize the text as a sort of commentary—in a way, Sôkyû's own poetic treatise (*karon*) which presents his ideals for poetic composition in a range of situations provided by the narrative of his journey. What the text does here is perhaps too cautious to be considered a serious strain against standard practice, but is more of a wink—to remind his contemporaries, perhaps, that they are all aware of the system within which they work.

Almost as famous as Nôin's poem, however, was the circumstance in which he was said to have presented his poem, recorded in an anecdote in the *Jikkinshô*:

Nôin's poem on visiting Michinoku:

Nôin was a man of unsurpassed elegance.

Miyako wo ba	I left the Capital
kasumi to tomo ni	with the rising mists of spring
tachishikado	but now it is the autumn wind
akikaze zo fuku	that is blowing
Shirakawa no seki	Shirakawa Barrier

Nôin

So when he composed this poem, he kept it to himself, regretting that he had remained in the Capital all the while. Without telling anyone, he secluded himself away for some time, and after darkening his complexion by sitting out in the sun, he presented his poem with the

introduction, “Composed while wandering in the reaches of Michinoku.”
(*SNKBZ* 51: 397-98)

The language about the act of travel in this passage is telling. In the heading, “Nôin’s poem on visiting Michinoku” (*Nôin no Michinoku gekô no uta* 能因の陸奥下向歌), the word “visiting” (*gekô* 下向) specifically indicates his leaving the capital, in this case to go into the outer reaches of Michinoku. Similarly, the term “wandering” (*shugyô* 修行), when used in a Buddhist context, suggests a pilgrimage or ascetic wandering, as Nôin, a priest (*hōshi* 法師), was likely to undertake. Even in a more general context, however, the word *shugyô* is related to the process of carrying out an action in very concrete terms, or of experiencing something in a bodily way, as in practice or study, and so would also suggest going out on a journey in an active sense (*NKD*).

It is also important to point out the language of performance that is at work in this short passage. First, there is the obvious performance involved in hiding away and cultivating a *suntan* so as to convincingly look the part of a wandering priest having just returned from a difficult journey, exposed to the elements for a long period. However, there is also the activity that surrounds the composition and presentation of a poem by making it public. The word “to present” (*hirô suru* 披露する) suggests various degrees of performing for an audience, including “showing to others” (*hito ni miseru* 人に見せる), “to orate” (*happyô* 発表する), and “to report” (*hōkoku* 報告する), to name a few (*NKD*). This suggests that the formal introductory statement that invariably accompanies the poem was also used in oral recitation, and was not limited to writing, as we see in poetry collections.

In this legend, Nôin goes to great lengths to appear as though he had traveled to Shirakawa Barrier as a way to create an atmosphere for presenting his poem on the Barrier. This anecdote about Nôin was relatively well known in Sôkyû's day.⁸³ The story admittedly seems a bit outlandish, and Sôkyû addresses this by mentioning Nôin's *Yaoshima no ki* 八百島記. However, if we take the story at face value for the moment, it makes one wonder what Nôin might have achieved by remaining at home, rather than traveling on the road, when both options would have meant that he was cut off from his usual activities and interactions for the same period of time. It is tempting to make a negative value judgment, drawing the conclusion that he was perhaps concerned about the danger of being on the road, or unwilling to leave his home to face the discomfort of sleeping on the road. What is perhaps more intriguing, however, is the interest that his contemporaries in the literary world apparently had in this story about Nôin, to the extent that the story survived as an amusing anecdote. Perhaps, then, the story is a result of disbelieving ears—how could Nôin have accomplished such an excellent and memorable composition if he was not in fact there at the site, looking and feeling in person? This legend is interesting in its process of objectifying and distorting the center-periphery relationship between the Capital and important *utamakura* sites. It suggests a process

⁸³ The anecdote about Nôin is included in at least three collections of *setsuwa*, including the *Fukuro zôshi*, *Jikkinshô*, and the *Kokon chogenshû* 古今著聞集. Sôkyû's version in *Souvenirs* most closely resembles the story in the *Jikkinshô*. The full title Sôkyû uses for Nôin in his text is "Nôin, lay priest of Kosobe" (*kosobe no shami Nôin* 古曾部の沙弥能因). Kosobe is where Nôin lived in seclusion, in present-day Ôsaka prefecture. The term *shami* 沙弥, a transliteration of the Sanskrit term *Śrāmaṇera*, is often translated as "novice" or "acolyte." In medieval Japan, *shami* most typically referred to a man who has taken the tonsure but who more or less maintains his family relationships with wife and children, or otherwise conducts a layperson's lifestyle (*NKD*).

through which the *utamakura* sites become centers in themselves, even when situated in relation to the Capital.

When Sôkyû arrives at the Shirakawa Barrier on his own journey, he addresses this anecdote about Nôin in great detail, and even calls into question its veracity. Whether or not Nôin actually went to such trouble to deceive his peers, however, this episode tells of a layered performance, acted out to construct the impression of having traveled far from the capital, to a specific *utamakura* site, in the interest of composing an efficacious poem, in which “efficacious” suggests that the poem is convincing or excellent or highly acclaimed, depending on the context in which it is presented and expected to function. And by recounting this story in his *Souvenirs*, Sôkyû demonstrates an awareness that both he and Nôin—as any traveler—have at their disposal a set of rhetorical techniques, both textual and performative, that provide a means of representing movement through space, whether that movement is consistent with a modern reader’s expectations for a “real” experience of time-space, or manipulated to suggest a different sort of experience.

Regardless, the story of Nôin is a memorable example of an elaborate performance carried out as a prelude to presenting a *waka* at court. It becomes an act of “setting the stage” in order to frame his *waka* in the best possible way by conditioning the attitude with which an audience of peers will receive it. The project of composing *waka* for public presentation is thus a performance that requires the participants to be aware of the different types of roles that are expected in different situations, with “poet” (*kajin* 歌人) included among these roles. In addition to this, the court culture functions according to consistent rules and expectations for the participants, with the most effective performances drawing in tangible rewards, usually in the form of establishing important

connections/networks, promotions in rank at court, but also concrete gifts such as valuable objects or land. As such, it is in the poet's interest to be aware of the performative nature of these roles, and to be able to work within that discourse—that is, to be able to perform convincingly according to the situation.

Above all, the story tells us specific ways in which performance is a necessary part of participation in the literary milieu, an audience of peers who are also active and knowledgeable poets. As the discussion of *Solace of Words at Ojima* in Chapter 2 will show, this literary milieu is also essentially equivalent to the sociopolitical world of the imperial palace and the social structure in which it functions as a major center. In this context, performance as active participation in one's social and cultural circles plays an important part in producing effective, potent, valuable poetry. Nôin's story, which deals with travel to an important utamakura site in a rather unconventional and perhaps exploratory way, in fact anticipates an increasingly deep and widespread interest in situating the human figure in space and time in the context of travel in medieval Japan. Although *Souvenirs* includes very little information about the contemporaneous political context in which it was written, read together with Yoshimoto's *Solace of Words*, it becomes an important text for exploring these issues of space and place in relation to the political and social changes taking place at the time.

The narrative style of *Souvenirs* explores a range of possibilities in how the body experiences space and time in the multiple temporalities it employs, in which we understand "temporalities" as the range of ways in which time and space can be calculated, measured, and represented. Furthermore, the attention to the stories of Nôin and Takeda no Kuniyuki only serves to emphasize the necessity of performing the roles

associated with one's position in various sociopolitical circles, and Sôkyû's awareness of this. The text thus reflects a subtle disjoint between the wanderer, the poet, and the narrative voice.

In addition, Sôkyû's discussion of Takeda no Kuniyuki alerts the reader to the self-consciously performative nature of engaging with famous places along the road. He acknowledges that the role of the traveler is to take on a very specific attitude—one that varies depending on what famous place he is encountering. This attitude—the “makeup applied to the heart”—denotes a performance that is deeply tied up in the literary canon of Sôkyû's day. And yet, Sôkyû chooses to reject the attitude associated with the Shirakawa Barrier here, and so demonstrates his acute awareness of experience, and by recording it in the journal, demonstrates his reflection on that experience as a performance.

The narrative style of *Souvenirs*, with its variations on time-space experiences, reflects gaps between the identities of wanderer, poet, and narrative voice. In other words, Sôkyû as narrator constructs an experience that differs, if only slightly, from what Sôkyû as traveler, and yet again as poet, was likely to have experienced. In focusing on the explicitly performative acts of other famous visitors to the Shirakawa Barrier, the text draws our attention even more sharply to the question of how the mind and body can experience space and time, and of how this is connected to the layers of performance that are necessarily involved in successfully acting out the roles of wandering lay-priest, poet, courtier, politician. In so doing, he pinpoints a gap between the various roles a single figure must play in order to draw our attention to common assumptions of the day about composing poetry on canonical utamakura sites, and specifically addresses the

performative work of constantly creating and publicly presenting one's poetic compositions in order to remain an active member of the court.

Sôkyû shows that he has at his disposal a set of rhetorical techniques, both textual and performative, for representing movement through space—whether that movement is consistent with the reader's expectations for a “real” experience of time-space, or manipulated to suggest a different sort of experience. He thus exposes the gaps that arise among the various roles a single figure must play in order to draw our attention to common assumptions of the day about composing poetry on canonical utamakura sites, and specifically addresses the performative work of creating and publicly presenting one's poetic compositions in order to remain an active member of the court. It is against this backdrop that we again recognize the text as a commentary—Sôkyû's own karon. What the text does here is perhaps too cautious to be considered a serious strain against standard practice, but is nonetheless serves as a reminder to his contemporaries that they are all aware of the system within which they work.

While Nôin himself will take little more than a peripheral role in the larger scope of this dissertation, his story of going to such great lengths to construct an impression that he had traveled is at once fantastic and humorous, and ultimately fascinating. It provides insights into the performance that is involved in actions undertaken by people with specific interests and investments in political, religious, and cultural institutions of their society. And regardless of what “actually” happened, and whether or not creating the impression of travel would have been in fact less trouble than to simply travel there in

person, the survival of the story in itself shows that Sôkyû and other traveling poets of his day found the concept fascinating as well.⁸⁴

We have seen how *Souvenirs* addresses specific ways in which the concepts of time and space are linked, and explores ways in which they can be experienced and described differently, or manipulated to represent these experiences in different ways. It also recognizes that something like a “virtual pilgrimage” is a possibility. The narratives of the journeys made by Sôkyû and Nôin imply that the act of travel is a temporary reversal of the center-periphery hierarchy based on life and culture in the Capital, in which travel to the place itself, typically in the periphery, is valued over composing a poem that has been based entirely on one’s imagination while “hiding away at home,” or what would otherwise be the center. Nôin’s narrated desire to have composed his waka about Michinoku on site rather than while in the Capital is the very conflict that motivates his decision to go into hiding and cultivate the appearance of a traveler long on the road.

Sôkyû echoes this sentiment when he relates the story of Nôin in *Souvenirs*. And, even as it posits the Capital as the center from which Sôkyû departs, we remember that he had in fact come from far outside of Kyoto: “Thinking, ssince nowhere is there a final abode,’ I left Tsukushi one day to lose myself in wandering here and there” (*Tsuto* 348).

⁸⁴ This treatment of Nôin brings up another aspect of my project, which is to consider the different ways that travelers are represented in these texts and images showing travel: some are very “real” in the historical sense, as the Nôin of the cited *waka* is; some are anonymous and purposely generic. The traveler-poet in a travel journal is often made into a generic figure, as the Sôkyû is in the journal’s opening phrase, “there was a person who had turned away from the world” *ichinin no yosute hito ari* 一人の世捨て人あり (*Tsuto* 348); and yet others are combinations of the real and the ideal, or the historical combined with the fanciful, as the Nôin in the accompanying anecdote is.

Sôkyû thus began his wandering by leaving his albeit impermanent home somewhere in northern Kyushu, although he does not specify precisely where he was living.⁸⁵ He also uses the name with a descriptive and emphatic *makurakotoba*,⁸⁶ *shiranui no Tsukushi*. The *makurakotoba*, “unfathomable fires” (*shiranui* 不知火) has a temporal aspect: it is the last day of the seventh month on the lunar calendar, when, in the darkness of night, countless lights can be seen in the seawaters around the northern and central parts of Kyushu (Ariakekai 有明海 or Yatsushiro 八代海). Using the *makurakotoba* with Tsukushi functions as a name not only for the home from which he departs, but also perhaps as a specific time when he was setting out. Of course it doesn’t matter whether such an event might actually have occurred, as long as the reader simply imagines the figure of Sôkyû leaving during such a mysterious-seeming event. It can also act as a reminder of one of the memorable and endearing things about the area, a metaphor for Sôkyû’s sadness about leaving, or nostalgia for, what had been his home.

He then describes arriving in the Capital in the spring of the following year, after wandering through Mt. Ôe, Ikunohara, Mt. Iya in Tamba province, famous places in what is now Kyoto prefecture. He stays at Kiyomizu-dera and Kitano Tenmangû for a few

⁸⁵The name Tsukushi 筑紫 could refer to the entire island of Kyushu, or more specifically to northern Kyushu, or to the areas of Chikuzen or Chikugo, or to Dazaifu.

⁸⁶*Shiranui* しらぬひ is a pillow word (*makurakotoba*), a phrase that describes and introduces other important words, typically place names or natural phenomena, and used in poetry. Their use is largely conventional and they are difficult to translate into English, but their function of introducing and emphasizing the name it precedes makes them an important part of poetic practice. Earl Miner writes, “Although once dismissed as meaningless decorations, in recent years they have been studied positively from many points of view. Both in their function and in the fruitfulness of scholarly inquiry into them, they somewhat resemble the Homeric epithets” (Miner, ed. *Principles of Japanese Literature*, Princeton University Press, 1985).

days, and then from there, he headed toward Azuma, the provinces in the East. The next line reads:

I left the Capital when it was still night. The lingering light of the dawn moon reflecting on the waves of the Higashi River; the voices of the birds, the echoes of their crying drifting over from a distant village; the view of the sky crossed by wisps of mist—it was all extremely beautiful. Eventually I crossed the mountain at Ausaka. (*Tsuto* 348)

This passage functions as a second departure scene, working on the assumption that almost all travel journals open with a passage that states the reasons for setting out on a journey, complete with references to places or people that are part of the traveler's motivation for going, and also usually including a few phrases about the sadness of leaving and the danger or unknown about travel. While the previous passage discusses Sôkyû's departure from Tsukushi, this description of his leaving the Capital obscures his status as a "visitor" to the Capital, and he even mentions that he experiences greater sadness at parting from The Capital than his hometown (*urusato* 故郷).

Sôkyû had simply stopped in the Capital before setting off to continue wandering. Thus, the stories and experiences are souvenirs that he collects in remembrance of his journey to the Capital, but they are also souvenirs for the Capital, or more fittingly, for the people who reside there, who Sôkyû supposes will become his audience.

Place names are central to travel journal, in part because the brevity of the format of both the poetic form and travel journal that so relies upon it depends upon verbalizing place names in order to call up the vast resource of allusions to enrich both his prose and poetry. However, place names are also fundamental in that they provide the structure for the journal. This is true for the use of *utamakura* in texts as a rhetorical technique, but also for the structure of the diaries overall. Each of the episodes of *Souvenirs* is

bookmarked neither by dates nor even entirely by geographical space per se, but by *utamakura*. There are several medieval travel diaries that construct the geography in this way, including, as discussed in Chapter 4, the *Fuji Viewing* journals of Yoshinori's 1432 journey to see Mount Fuji. Nijô Yoshimoto's *Solace of Words at Ojima*, too, appears to follow suit, but Chapter 2 shows that his journal is also an exception in several ways.

The poetic composition and imagery-driven writing remains largely focused upon describing these sites and their sights. In contrast to this, the time spent, or even the physical distance covered, on the road tends to be presented in more abstract terms. The reader has no choice but to align himself with Sôkyû's point of view, through which the pilgrim vacillates between appearing as a singularly stable object, and a mobile one that is vulnerable to his environment. These are contradictory images, but they are both at work in the figure that is constructed in the lines of *Souvenirs*: Sôkyû remains constant as a narrator against a changing backdrop, in which the days and landmarks pass "silently by, piling up one after the other." There is also the distinct impression of the traveler being drawn, by some magnetic force of these famous names, to renowned places, as if he were being swept along in the stream of his literary heritage. This is manifested in the listing of place names in the *michiyuki* passages. It is also implied in phrases such as "to be at Mount Sayanonaka" (*Sayanonaka yama ni mo narinu*), which is literally, "I was at Mount Sayanonaka," with an emphasis on the place name from the particle *mo*. The line implies, in this context, "I came all the way to Mount Sayanonaka." But the existence verb *naru* gives a sense of passivity or inevitability in this experience, and so the phrase can be read more colloquially as "I found myself in Mount Sayanonaka."

By verbalizing the name, Sokyû projects the imagery indicated by a poet's corpus or the details associated with place-names to create a richly layered visual description of the physical landscape he sees before him. The act of looking is central to the text as a way to honor the name, and is represented in the themes of reflected images and partially obscured vision in addition to his mobile perception of landscape discussed above. For these reasons of visuality and mobility, *Souvenirs* reads very much like a picture scroll. As the blur, if not absolute void, of the scenery of being on the road is contrasted with the extreme interest in minute, local details of the places themselves, these two images of mutability and stability combine to present Sôkyû as a solitary figure traversing a landscape that unrolls, seemingly pre-determined, like a painted scroll beneath his feet.

The place name is at once the spur and the product of the travel. It is the pivot upon which meaning and role shift. It is the frame of both the journey and the journal. Its pronunciation remains unchanged throughout, but the meaning shifts as it absorbs the residue from its most recent encounter, and moves on to the next set of readers and listeners, the future audience. This reflexive nature of place names, therefore, is not merely retrospective. It also involves looking forward, and we will examine this further in Nijô Yoshimoto's travel journal, *Solace of Words at Ojima*, in the next chapter.

Figures for Chapter 2

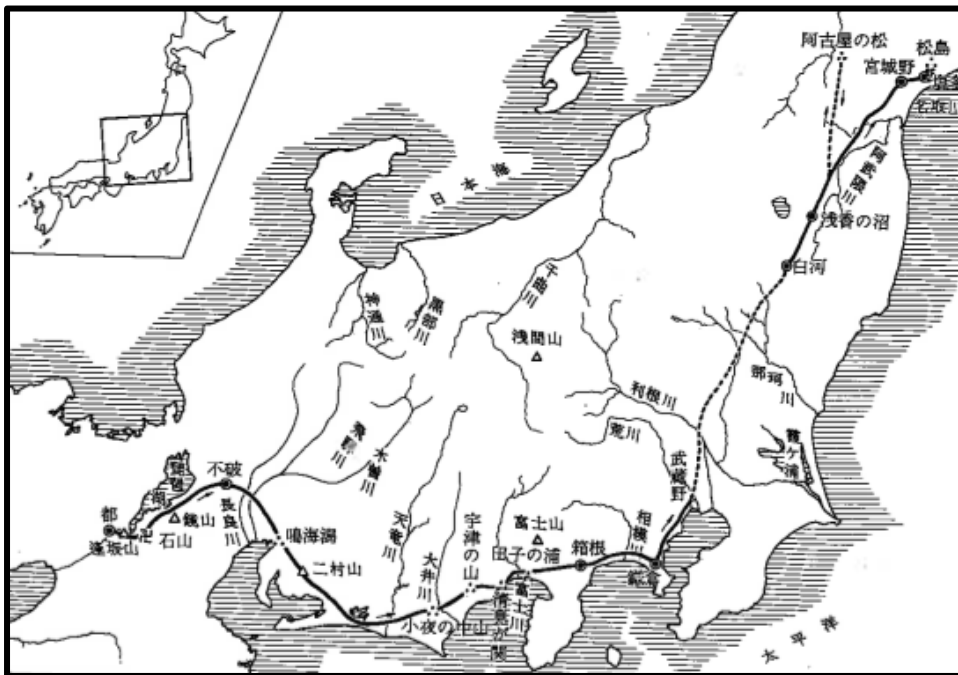


Figure 4: A map of Sôkyû's route in *Souvenirs for the Capital* (Fukuda and Plutschow 1975, 87).



Figure 5: Woodblock print of *Souvenirs for the Capital* (a) (Waseda University).

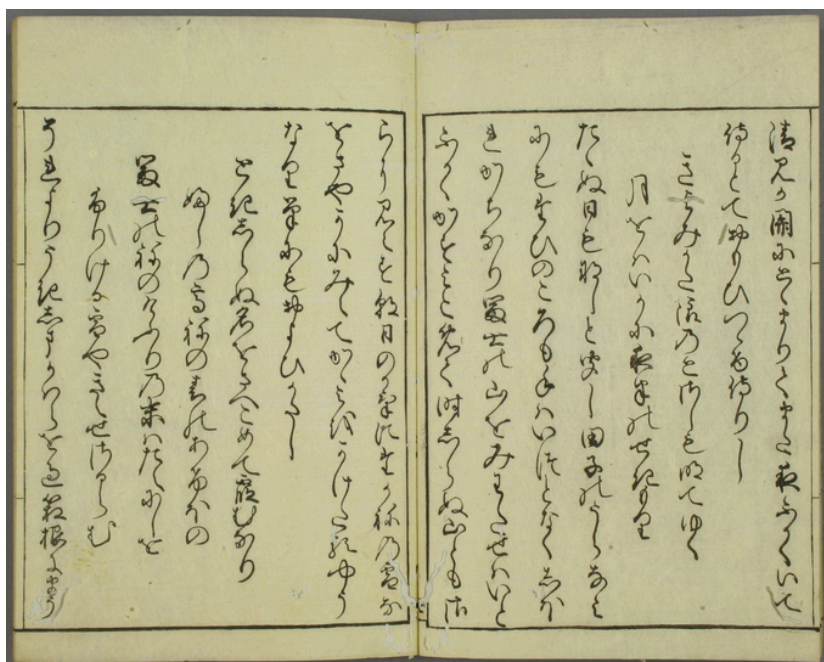


Figure 6: Woodblock print of *Souvenirs for the Capital* (b) (Waseda University).



Figure 7: An example of the format of prose passage followed by image, in the twelfth-century *Tale of Genji Picture Scrolls* (Tokugawa Bijutsukan). The format may be as a continuous scroll or in pages in which the image is viewed while listening to another read the text on a separate page.

Chapter 3

Nijô Yoshimoto's *Solace of Words at Ojima*:

Constructing a Future Out of History and Precedent

In Chapter 1, I have shown with an analysis of poetry and place names in Sôkyû's *Souvenirs for the Capital* (*Miyako no tsuto* 都のつと ca. 1350) that the place name is an efficient tool for invoking a rich history connected to a place, in which history is manifest as the “aura” of a place, in turn made up of people, poems, events. Moreover, the place name works to link that history to the traveling poet in a construction of a personal literary lineage. Similarly, my analysis in Chapter 2 will show that place names play an important role in *Solace of Words at Ojima* (*Ojima no kuchizusami* 小島の口ずさみ 1353), a travel journal by Nijô Yoshimoto, a statesman poet who found himself in the center of the conflict between the Northern and Southern courts in the first decades of the hegemony of the Ashikaga shogunate. In this chapter I will shift my focus to examine the relationship between place names and the names of past famous figures specifically. Naming is a way to construct a history, as well as to establish political authority through identifying specific historical precedents. In the case of *Solace of Words at Ojima*, the use of place names begins to resemble an act of appropriation in which a specific set of figures is accessed through citing, composing, and reciting poems and other literary works.

Naming the Figure and the Place Name Together

The technique of poetic allusion is a familiar one in travel writing, as it is in most other vernacular writing of the day. Occasionally the text recites an old poem in its entirety, but a briefer citation is much more common.⁸⁷ In every case the poem is famous enough to be recognizable by a phrase, or even a certain pairing of words or images, even if it is recited in full. In *Souvenirs for the Capital*, for example, we have seen that intoning a place name works to call up the aura of that place, in which the “aura” indicates the atmosphere constituted by the literary, historical and social context of the place in question. While it was clear in *Souvenirs* that the act of naming extends beyond place names to the names of people, we will examine that phenomenon in more detail as it occurs in *Solace of Words at Ojima*.

At Mount Moru, in the first passage in *Solace of Words* that follows the common travel-journal formula of alternating prose and poem, Yoshimoto remembers a famous predecessor in the literary canon, Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (d. 945). Yoshimoto writes:

On that day, suffering thus, I arrived at Mount Moru. Its name is known far and wide, but it is not an especially impressive place. Tsurayuki’s poem, “the drizzling rain soaks to the skin” was surely about this area, and I was immediately reminded of that ancient event.

Moruyama no
shitaba wa imada
iro zukade

While the lower leaves
at Mount Moruyama
are as yet untouched with color

⁸⁷ The technique of alluding to a poem is called *hikiuta* 引歌 when the poem is used in a prose passage, and *honkadori* 本歌取 when it is used in a new poetic composition. I distinguish between the terms “cite” (referring or alluding to a previous poem by using a single word or phrase from it), “recite” (vocalizing or writing an old poem in its entirety), and “compose” (vocalizing or writing a new poem, which may also include a reference or allusion to an old poem).

uki ni shigururu
sode zo tsuyukeki

showered in sorrow, my sleeves
are already drenched with dew

Nijô Yoshimoto
(*Kuchizusami* 367)

The repeated rains of autumn are believed to turn the leaves red, and because the leaves have not turned here, it is showers of tears, not rain, that drench Yoshimoto's sleeves.

The image of a famous figure has a similar effect as a place name. The name of Ki no Tsurayuki, for example, will recall in the mind of the audience the celebrated poet and statesman of the early tenth century, as well as the extent of his corpus.⁸⁸ Intoning the name of Tsurayuki in conjunction with a place name, however, narrows that scope to point to a precise poem, or set of poems, as the case may be. In this instance, the combination of poet and place name directs our attention specifically to Tsurayuki's poem about Mount Moru, anthologized in *KKS* Autumn II, no. 260:

shiratsuyu mo
shigure mo itaku
Moruyama ha
shitaba nokorazu
irozuginikeri

The white dew
and the drizzling rain soak to the skin
Mount Moru, where all the leaves,
down to the lowest branches,
have turned color

Ki no Tsurayuki
(*SNKBT* 5: 90)

Yoshimoto's poem clearly reflects the images we see in Tsurayuki's. There is an interest in the colors of autumn (*irozuku* 色づく) as well as the repeated image of the leaves on the lower branches of the trees (*shitaba* 下葉). Also prominent are the atmospheric images of dew (Tsurayuki's *shiratsuyu* 白露 and Yoshimoto's *tsuyukeki* 露けき) and

⁸⁸ Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (d. 945) is perhaps most famous for his work as the leading editor of the first imperial anthology of poetry, *Kokinshû* (905), hereafter *KKS*. He is also celebrated as one of the thirty-six great poets of the Heian period, and the author of the *Tosa Diary* (*Tosa nikki* 土佐日記 934), an important early example of travel writing.

showers (*shigure* 時雨), as well as its uncomfortable effects on the traveler, in “soak to the skin” and “sleeves already drenched,” respectively.

The poems are also similar in that each juxtaposes human emotion against a description of the natural landscape, particularly as that landscape is shaped by temporal factors of the weather and seasons. But this technique is used to strikingly divergent effects. Tsurayuki’s description focuses on the autumn leaves that make a vibrant layer of color beneath the monochrome of the dew and drizzling rain. The overall effect is subdued, but there is a sense of satisfied completion in seeing the full spectrum of intense shades of the leaves despite their dismal surroundings. It is as though Tsurayuki looks back on his life from old age, with an acceptance of the inevitable approach of fall and winter. In contrast to this, Yoshimoto’s poem emphasizes the anxiety of his expulsion from the Capital. His suffering appears futile when set almost ironically against a verdant landscape. That the foliage remains yet unchanged by the seasons suggests that the circumstances of his flight to Ojima represents an untimely halt to the efforts of a young emperor and his regent, as well as the cause for which they are working.

Tsurayuki’s poem has been positioned in *Solace of Words* as a lens through which Yoshimoto views the landscape. So we are compelled as readers to compare the two. On the surface, Tsurayuki appears to paint the scene that he views at Mount Moru in a spirit of verisimilitude. It is difficult to locate the poet’s emotional response in the lines of the poem, until we imagine the figure of Tsurayuki, standing in the rain and soaked to the skin, while looking at a forest of trees in full autumn color. In this scenario, whether or not it was ever enacted, the poem gives voice not only to that experience, but also to the

feelings that could arise in such an experience. Only then do the bright colors of the leaves stand out so vividly against the darkness of the surrounding atmosphere.

In light of this, we must abandon those early assumptions that Yoshimoto has drawn on the imagery of Tsurayuki's poem purely in an attempt to visualize the landscape as it had appeared before Tsurayuki. Instead, by making this reference, Yoshimoto accesses a much more profound combination of experience, mood, and atmosphere. In doing this, he draws on the notion that the aura of the place is an embodiment of the past actions that had taken place there, and that this aura is accessed through the place name. Further, Yoshimoto refers to Tsurayuki's poem not to draw a precise parallel, but also for its contrast. Yoshimoto suggests that his mood, as he makes his way to join Emperor Go-Kôgon at Tarui, is complicated and enriched by the atmosphere of that day long ago, even if it does not match it. Far from attempting to recreate that past event before his own eyes, Yoshimoto emphasizes the difference between the two.

Until recently, English language scholarship on travel writing and the famous place in poetry has tended to rest upon the combined assumptions that a poem is composed in verisimilitude, and that a reference to an old poem is an attempt to replicate the more favorable atmosphere of times long past. These assumptions result in interpretations of the travel journal as a literary expression of nostalgia for the past as a golden age of the Heian court. Herbert Plutschow (1981), for example, reads it as such in a formative study of the genre of travel writing:

By looking back in time for appropriate descriptions or emotions about a place, the travel diarists obviously superimpose a traditional structure upon reality. They fail to see the reality of a place, as it unfolds itself in front of their eyes, but concentrate instead on the way the ancient poets

saw it. They travel along a road of literary history and tradition to which they strictly adhere, thus maintaining and transmitting tradition to future generations. They transmit, and do not generally innovate, since they travel into a past they rediscover on the journey. (22)

This reading relies upon an assumption that every poet, regardless of the time or situation, should strive for verisimilitude in poetic compositions about the places they visit, or the scenes upon which they gaze. It not only presumes that the idealistic notion of an identifiable “reality” is the empirical impression of the traveler’s immediate surroundings, but also that such a reality can only be expressed through a process of descriptive imagery and diction that relies upon innovation.

To be sure, the landscape would most certainly have changed between the compilation of the *Kokinshû* in 905 and Yoshimoto’s *Solace of Words at Ojima* in 1353. However, it is incorrect to insist that the travelers of the medieval period were purposely, stubbornly, or even ignorantly blind to these differences. In fact, in most instances, the message seems to be one that emphasizes the inevitable differences that centuries would have on the topography. It is just that the difference is not expressed in a description of the so-called immediate reality, but rather in its absence—in the awareness that the famous scenes from the old poems no longer exist for the later travelers to view in person. The past landscapes are not so much a curtain that obscures the view of an attainable, viewable, describable “immediate reality,” nor even a blindfold that is intentionally used to avoid looking at such a reality. Instead, it is a lens through which the traveler-poet actively looks, and visualizes, making a comparison. By comparing multiple visual descriptions of the same landscape, the poet also has a way to enact the different psychological state, different set of emotions, different social or cultural pressures, in comparison to those that are described in the old poem.

Yoshimoto points directly to “that ancient event” in which Tsurayuki is presumed to have stood gazing at the scenery of Mount Moru, complete with a cold drizzle and vibrant autumn foliage.⁸⁹ In so doing, he indeed sets the scene in *Solace of Words* in a very specific way. However, there are clear differences in the meaning of the two verses on Mount Moru. Just as the diction and imagery in Yoshimoto’s poem points vigorously to Tsurayuki’s famous impression of the scene, those very same words also work to emphasize these differences in meaning. This shows through especially clearly in the report that the lower branches of the trees retain the green of late summer, “as yet untouched with color.” Yoshimoto’s “showers of sorrow,” too, indicates that it is his tears that soak his sleeves rather than the rain. Therefore, rather than attempting to preserve the scenery of the Tsurayuki poem, Yoshimoto instead uses it as a foil against which to contrast his own situation.⁹⁰

We begin to get the impression from Yoshimoto’s poem that he, too, is describing the scene precisely as it stands “in front of [his] eyes,” if indirectly and through a veil of imagery so familiar as to appear conventional. But in the end, we can do little more than to speculate about the “reality” of his descriptions. Instead, it is more productive to

⁸⁹ Although it doesn’t seem as though there is a specific event here, the phrase *furugoto* 故事, or “ancient event,” suggests an interesting occasion in the sense of a history, or a story that has been passed down for generations. In this way *furugoto* is related to issues of precedent, or giving the impression of certain practices having a long history or lineage (NKD).

⁹⁰ This is of course not limited to Yoshimoto, but extends to his fellow traveler-poets who do this very same thing at many of the sites they visit. See, for example, Sôkyû’s passage at the Shirakawa Barrier, in which the names of Nôin and Takeda no Kuniyuki are introduced to establish a specific scene and set of conventions for that place, which Sôkyû then proceeds to deliberately contradict in his own verse, in which he crosses the Barrier “in poor spirits.” See also Ratcliff (2005) for his discussion of this in the Kamakura-period travel journals. See the Introduction for a discussion of Ratcliff.

consider the ways in which this technique works in the travel journal to situate the traveler-poet in space. As we have seen, stating the name of a historical or literary figure in conjunction with a place name is one way to allude to a specific base text. Alluding to a past famous literary work in this way becomes a kind of recitation, or a re-citation, in a new poem, and allows the traveler to put forward an interpretation of that base text. That is, it is not just a repetition of the old poem, but an act of reciting it within a new composition, which gives the old poem a new reading in the new context. In addition to interpretation, naming also works to accumulate a specific set of important past figures and literary works. This accumulation is in one sense a collection of names, as a compilation, or a list, that takes the shape of the traveler's route. As such, the travel journal text becomes the record not only of a journey, but also of a specific lineage that is constructed within the pages of the travel journal, pieced together by the persona of the traveler-poet.

Constructing a Lineage of Exile Through the *Tale of Genji*

Solace of Words is a typical example of travel writing in its alignment with the principle of impermanence, or *mujōkan*. In the narrative of *Solace of Words*, there is admittedly not as strong an awareness of impermanence as in so-called religious travel journals, such as *Souvenirs for the Capital*.⁹¹ However, this worldview of impermanence is duly established in the very first line of *Solace of Words*:

At the foot of Mount Ogura, relying upon my grass hut at Nakanoin to

⁹¹ I do not use the distinction of “religious” or “official” travel writing because all travel journals of this time tend to exhibit varying degrees of each characteristic. I discuss these categories further in the Introduction.

provide shelter in which to conceal myself, I was feeling terribly helpless, suffering from malaria and feeling even more as though this dew-like life will surely fade completely. (*Kuchizusami* 366)

We see here the standard images symbolic of impermanence, including the grass hut as an unreliable shelter, the emotional and physical distress of illness, and human life as compared to a drop of dew, among others. This opening firmly establishes a philosophy of impermanence as a lens through which to view the journey, even if the reader is not reminded of it as frequently throughout the entire text.

In the “Suma” chapter of the *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 ca. 1007, Murasaki Shikibu), too, Genji finds himself on the road because he has been expelled from the Capital by his political rivals. When he arrives at Suma, a coastal village where he will spend his days in exile, Genji takes in the unfamiliar landscape:

Seeing the waves washing the shore and slipping back to the sea, he murmured, “With what envy [Envious indeed]...”; and on his lips the old poem sounded so fresh and true that sorrow overwhelmed his companions. (Tyler 239; *SNKBT* 20: 23)

Searching for a way to express his reaction to the scene that confronts him at what will indefinitely be his home, Genji turns to the language of poetry. Rather than composing a poem, something which readers of the *Genji* know that he is apt to do, he instead recites a poem by Ariwara no Yukihiro 在原行平 (818-893), a statesman and poet, and a famous exile in Japanese literature and history.

Yukihiro’s poem is the focus of one of the stories in Book 7 of the *Tales of Ise*:

Once a man [Yukihiro] set out toward the east because of certain problems that had made life in the capital uncomfortable for him. Gazing at the foaming white surf as he crossed the beach between Ise and Owari Provinces, he composed this poem:

itodoshiku
Sugiyuku kata no

How poignant now
My longing

Koishiki ni
Urayamashiku mo
Kaeru nami kana

For what lies behind—
Enviably indeed
The returning waves

Ariwara no Yukihiro
(McCullough 73-74)⁹²

The circumstances of Yukihiro's poem as described in the *Tales of Ise* are almost identical to the scene in the *Genji*. There is the sorrow at finding oneself separated from everything familiar, and the sense that this situation has been imposed upon an unwilling traveler as a result of external problems of a political or social nature, rather than from within the traveler himself.

The Yukihiro passage is an important reference because it is a clear reminder that the narrative of Genji's exile is based upon common knowledge of certain historical figures who found themselves on the road as a result of falling into disfavor in the court society. The references in the "Suma" chapter of the *Genji* to famous aristocratic exiles are many and frequent, and revolve primarily around Yukihiro, as well as Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903) and Chinese poet Bai Juyi (J. Haku Kyōi or Hakushi 白居易 772-856).⁹³ The "beach between Ise and Owari" that Yukihiro crossed in the *Tales of Ise* is left unspecified and is likely fictional, but it is imagined in the pages of the *Genji*

⁹² Tyler translates the poem: "My heart so longs to cross the distance I have come: / with what envy I watch the waves as they return!" (Tyler 239n26; *SNKBT* 20: 23n13).

⁹³ Bai Juyi fell into disfavor at the Tang court and was appointed as an official in remote Jiangxi Province (江西省 J. Goshū 江州). The poems he composed during his exile were among his most celebrated in Heian and Kamakura Japan. See Richard E. Strassberg and Madeline K. Spring for English language scholarship on the theme of exile in Bai Juyi's work. Similarly, Fujiwara no Michizane was effectively banished when he received official appointment in then remote Kyushu. This, too, was a case of mounting political rivalries and falling into disfavor after a rapid rise in court. Michizane kept a diary in Chinese during his time in exile, and in it makes several references to Bai Juyi, which suggests that he identified with the famous Chinese exile. See Robert Borgen for a biography of Michizane in English.

as corresponding with the Suma coast. Genji, albeit a fictional character, even stays in the same rustic lodging that had once been inhabited by Yukihiro, a historical and highly fictionalized figure, for example. In turn, the *Genji*, as well as the poetry of exiles Michizane and Bai Juyi, is one of the most important touchstones in travel writing of the medieval era. Even in cases in which the names of these figures are not explicitly mentioned, their visages, along with their stories, are unquestionably called up in poems and descriptions of the scenery.

The “old poem,” the narrator informs us, is by Genji’s time a cliché. But its lines are so refreshed by the pathos of Genji’s exile that “sorrow overwhelmed his companions” upon hearing Genji recite it. This passage is an illustration that the meanings and affects of old poems can be shaped by the constant variation of human experience. That is, when Genji repeated the old poem, his act of reciting it within a new context gave the old poem a new meaning and renewed affective power. This is an application of the approach to poetic composition that uses the philosophy of “old words, new heart” (*kotoba furuki kokoro atarashi* 詞古き心新し), as in the work of Fujiwara Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114-1204) and his son, Fujiwara Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241). Even if the old words (*kotoba*) are repeated, the poem will never be the same from one moment to the next, because, in a different time and under different circumstances, the heart (*kokoro*) is always new. The difference becomes an unavoidable gap and, in the case of Genji as well as poets throughout the medieval era, this gap opens up rich potential for shaping the meaning and impact of the text.

Within the framework of impermanence, the act of citing or reciting a poem becomes a means of giving that poem new life, new meaning. Because of the concept that

all things change, when the old poem is recited it becomes an entirely new work. On the one hand, the text remains the undercurrent that links each new performance, making the performances recognizable as a citation rather than a new composition. But on the other hand, even the words themselves, as the units that make up what we view as the text, are unstable because they are renewed in performance—the voice with which they are recited, or the hand with which they are inscribed. Because this recitation of an old poem is a performance, the traveler-poet, the place, and all the innumerable factors of the moment of that performance contribute to its novelty. This produces a poem that is necessarily different from that distant moment when the preceding poet, the “person of old” (*furuki hito* 古き人) so oft imagined in our travel journals, originally composed what has now become a foundational poem. And so the old poem itself evolves.⁹⁴

In *Souvenirs for the Capital*, with the anecdote about Priest Genshin and the anonymous novice at Lake Biwa, we see another instance in which a poet gives renewed contextual depth to an old poem by reciting it in a different situation, in a different age, and among a different group of contemporaries. Sôkyû, by recalling that anecdote in his diary demonstrates one way in which an old poem takes on entirely new meaning because of the wider context in which it is placed.⁹⁵ There is even a specific reference in *Souvenirs* to the *Tale of Genji*, not through poetic allusion so much as the imagery with which he describes the rustic home of a man living in seclusion. Sôkyû appears to

⁹⁴ This is neither limited to poetic composition nor to the context of medieval Japanese Buddhist philosophy. In the context of musical performance, for example, the same works can be performed infinitely with differing results. The work is renewed with every performance, as aspects such as acoustics, tempo, and tone represent each new performer’s reading of the work.

⁹⁵ See, in Chapter 1, Sôkyû’s account of the story of Genshin from *Shasekishû* (沙石集 1283, Mujû Ichien) and *Fukuro zôshi* (袋草子 ca. 1158, Fujiwara no Kiyosuke).

stumble upon this haven in the wilderness by chance, but the man is genteel and well educated, and the two form an immediate bond.

It was early in the third month—the plum tree that stood near the eaves of the house had lost most of its blossoms, and the moon shining hazily through the bare branches seemed very refined. The pine pillars and woven bamboo fence imparted an air of rustic, time-honored beauty to the place. The owner of the house, who looked as though he came from a fine lineage despite living in the country, came out to meet me. (*Tsuto* 353)

Sôkyû's description of the house recalls in precise detail Genji's residence at Suma in the *Tale of Genji*:

Genji's house looked indescribably Chinese. Not only was its setting just like a painting, but despite their modesty the woven bamboo fence around it and its stone steps and pine pillars were pleasingly novel. One could only smile before Genji's beauty, for he dazzled the eye in his purposely rustic blue-gray hunting cloak and gathered trousers...all in the simple manner of a mountain peasant. (Tyler 250; *SNKBT* 20: 39)

The descriptions of the woven bamboo fence and pine pillars, as well as the rustic atmosphere are parallel. Additionally, this passage from the *Genji*, which provides Tô no Chûjô's point of view as he approaches to visit his dear friend, is echoed in Sôkyû's description of approaching the house, and then being greeted warmly by its master.

Similarly, Yoshimoto's project of naming in *Solace of Words* extends beyond place names to include the names of famous figures, whether they are statesmen and poets, gods and buddhas, or fictional, legendary and historical. Likewise, oblique references to such famous works as the *Tale of Genji* point to the names of those famous

figures. The reference that we see most frequently in the narrative of *Solace of Words* is without a doubt to the *Tale of Genji*.⁹⁶ Yoshimoto establishes the link in the introduction:

I consulted with an elderly high priest in order to dispel my illness.
Although he made a charm and conducted a healing rite, my fever did
not abate. Thinking, “The fever keeps returning,” I felt that there was
little hope for relief. (*Kuchizusami* 366)

While Yoshimoto’s descriptions of his difficult physical symptoms throughout the first part of the text suggests that he surely was suffering from an illness, his allusions to the “Young Murasaki” chapter of the *Genji* are clear, nonetheless.

In this particular instance, the *Genji* reference suggests a moment of departure. The “Young Murasaki” chapter opens with Genji turning to various practitioners for treatment of his malaria, but because his fever “does not abate,” Genji decides to go to the Northern Hills (*Kitayama* 北山) to seek help from a famous priest there. It is as though seeking treatment for an ailment were part of his preparations for travel. Yoshimoto’s desire for medical treatment becomes a symbol of his preparation for setting out on a journey.⁹⁷

There are also images in *Solace of Words* that builds an aesthetics of the *Genji*. For example, the “sounds of the fulling mallets” before dawn made Yoshimoto think that “someone must have made their dwelling here [Tarui]” (*Kuchizusami* 374). A fulling block (*kinuta* 砧) is a seasonal poetic image associated with autumn. There is a scene in

⁹⁶ The following discussion is indebted to Ogawa Takeo’s (1994) article, “Nijô Yoshimoto to ‘yomei no suke’: Jimoku no hiji, oyobi *Genji monogatari* no nangi to shite,” a comprehensive analysis of references to *Tale of Genji* in Yoshimoto’s *Solace of Words at Ojima*.

⁹⁷ Matsuo Bashô’s *Narrow Road to the Deep North* (*Oku no hosomichi* 奥の細道 1693), too, echoes this preparatory step: “I patched my torn trousers and changed the cord on my bamboo hat. To strengthen my legs for the journey I had moxa burned on my shins” (Matsuo Basho and Keene 19; *SNKBZ* 71: 75).

the “Twilight Beauty” (Yûgao 夕顔) chapter, in which Genji is caught up in the poetic feelings of autumn as he and his lover, Yugao, listen to the sounds outside of her rooms, such as striking mallets upon the fulling block and geese flying overhead:

The sound of snowy robes being pounded on the fulling block reached him from all sides, and wild geese were crying in the heavens. These and many other sounds roused him to painfully keen emotion. (Tyler 63)

These images recalled by the fulling block are not limited to Genji’s “keen emotion” about the pathos of the season, however. In the same scene, he is also painfully reminded of the humble station of Yugao’s family, whose home is apparently surrounded by appallingly coarse neighbors.

The ways in which *Solace of Words* characterizes the types of people who appear in the narrative is also reflective of the *Genji*. As a continuation of the above scene from the *Genji*, for example, the “chatter and clatter all around them of people rising and preparing to go about their pitiful tasks of the morning” were deeply embarrassing to Yugao, and altogether perplexing to Genji:

Thud, thud, a treadle mortar thundered almost at their pillow, until he understood at last what “detestable racket” means. Having no idea what was making it, he only was aware that it was new and that it was awful. The assortment of noises was no more than a jumble to him. (Tyler 63)

This distaste for such close contact with people outside of the aristocracy is similarly reflected in *Solace of Words*. When the imperial party moves from Ojima to the nearby post station at Tarui springs, Yoshimoto writes,

It was the first time that the Emperor’s palanquin was draped with a cloth decorated with gilt phoenix, but it was quite fitting to do so in this case. It was improper for the rustic commoners to gaze upon the Emperor, and so I had this arrangement made. (*Kuchizusami* 374)

Yoshimoto defends his decision to proceed outside of the realm of precedent by having the special brocade cloth draped over the roof of the Emperor's palanquin, as a practical measure to obscure him from view of the commoner locals on the road. And on more than one occasion during the return trip to the Capital, Yoshimoto complains of the road becoming "crowded with mountain peasants and woodcutters who gathered, gawking" at the spectacle of the large progression of the imperial party and military escort provided by Takauji (*Kuchizusami* 379).

But in addition to this, the sounds of the fulling blocks suggest the season as well as the themes of parting and travel. Yoshimoto's brief allusion extends through the *Genji*, and farther again to poem no. 241 in the *Wakan rôeishû*. The pome, composed on the topic of the full moon of autumn, is by Tang poet, Gong Cheng-Yi (J. Kô Jôoku 公乘億):

nishiki wo oru hatamo no uchi ni ha	On the loom where she weaves embroidery,
sude ni sôshi no ji wo wakimahe	already can be discerned the words of love.
koromo wo utsu kinuta no uhe ni ha	On the blocks where clothes are fulling,
nihakani wenbetsu no koe wo sofû	suddenly are added sounds of sadness at parting

Gong Cheng-Yi
(Rimer and Chaves tr. 83; *WR* 135)

We see in this poem the theme of travel in its "sounds of sadness at parting." But it is also important to note the autumn imagery in the sound of the fulling blocks, and more importantly, in the topic of the fifteenth night of the eighth month—the Autumnal Equinox—an important date in the lunar calendar that is associated with the harvest and changing of the seasons, as well as with travel, parting, and poetic composition.

There is a full section of the *Wakan rôeishû* dedicated to poems about the full moon of the eighth month, including no. 242, by Bai Juyi, which Yoshimoto cites in his *Solace of Words*:

sango yachû no
shingetsu no iro
jisen ri no hoka no
kojin no *kokoro*

Midnight of the Autumn Equinox
is as dark as the night of a new moon
Thinking of my old friend
two thousand miles away

Bai Juyi
(*WR* 136)

This poem is famous as a commentary on the friendship between Bai Juyi and Yuan Chen. The *Wakan rôeishû* is also well-represented as a source of allusions in the renga of the *Tsukubashû* period, that is, Nijô Yoshimoto's time.

This allusion is even more complex, however. In *Solace of Words*, Yoshimoto writes:

The layers of rainclouds, which screened even the famed full moon of the Autumn Equinox, did not clear in the slightest. I was deeply touched, thinking that this must be precisely like the feeling of "old friends, two thousand miles away." (*Kuchizusami* 373)

The "man of old" indicated here is not Bai Juyi alone, but also points to Genji during his exile in Suma:

Genji remembered when a brilliant moon rose that tonight was the fifteenth of the month. He longed for the music at the palace, and the thought of all his ladies with their eyes to the heavens moved him to gaze up at the face of the moon. "Two thousand leagues away, the heart of a friend..." he sang, and as before his companions could not contain their tears. (Tyler 246; *SNKBT* 20: 33).

Prince Genji, too, famously turns to the words Bai Juyi's poem when he feels the pangs of homesickness after relocating to Suma.

These allusions, which are layered as densely as the clouds that surround Yoshimoto's lodgings in Tarui, are but a few among many that point specifically to a literary tradition of travel and exile to give shape and meaning to the narrative of *Solace of Words*. Yoshimoto's references to the *Tale of Genji* particularly emphasize the "Suma"

chapter and its description of Genji's exile from court while his political rivals are in the seat of power. The political interpretation materializes as a thread that links and gives weight to the other allusions of exiles in classical literature of China and Japan. Through these allusions to the *Genji*, Yoshimoto's *Solace of Words* constructs a web of references to a wide range of exile narratives, including the *Tales of Ise* and the works of such exiled and wandering poets as Michizane, Gong Chengyi, Yuan Chen, and Bai Juyi.

Historical Context of *Solace of Words*

It is clear, then, that *Solace of Words at Ojima* is in fact the record of an exile from the Capital. Without knowledge of the figurative significance of the poems, as well as the allusions they are making, such a reading would not be possible. But equally important in this reading is the appearance of place names that are neither *utamakura* nor *meisho*, that is, names and locations that are not a part of the classical poetic canon.

What Yoshimoto records is a journey from the Capital to meet Emperor Go-Kôgon at Ojima, a place that is neither well known nor oft cited in literature. Although *Solace of Words* starts out as a travel journal, the standard prose – poem formula soon disintegrates and the underlying necessity of travel soon becomes clear: this journey undertaken by Yoshimoto and his emperor is in fact a sudden flight from a military invasion of the Capital by the Southern Court. Ojima is for Yoshimoto a practical destination, the home of Toki Yoriyasu, who provides safe harbor for the imperial entourage until they can rendezvous with the shogun Ashikaga Takauji and return, backed by Ashikaga and his vast army, to the Capital.

The journey described in *Solace of Words at Ojima* takes place from the seventh to the ninth months of 1353, during a chaotic moment in the rivalry between the Northern and Southern Courts. In the portion of the diary that takes the format of a travel journal, the political context is somewhat less explicit.

Continuing from the introduction to the diary, Yoshimoto writes:

In a letter from east of the Barrier, the Emperor wrote to me, “In a treacherous world such as this, what gives you the confidence to tarry even for a moment?” Correspondence such as this came one after another. Indeed, the state of the world is such that one cannot find refuge even in a rock cave. With the frequent news of the ferocious storms blowing through the pines, I wondered in vain about the concealed mountain trail on which I could rely. And so, a little after the twentieth day of the seventh month, when it was still deep in the moonlit night, I departed from my hut, my thoughts fixed on the long road to the east. I felt a deep sadness in those thoughts. Even so, I managed to calm myself in thinking that, although I have never ventured beyond the Osaka Barrier in my official capacity, why would not the gods and buddhas come to my aid, when I exert my utmost in the spirit of serving the realm. (*Kuchizusami* 366)

The reference to a military attack as “ferocious storms blowing through the pines” is rather oblique considering what the circumstances must have been. One wonders whether the urgency of the situation is softened by the literary reference, or if that is only the case for those of us who do not immediately recognize the allusion.

As discussed above, *Solace of Words* establishes a specific worldview in its introduction. This worldview takes on the subject of travel and exile through the perspective of the *Tale of Genji*, in which the sense of impermanence is an overriding theme. Within this context, we get what seems to be a rather veiled glimpse of the dramatic events that are unfolding during the months that are narrated in *Solace of Words*. These events form a narrative of a political rivalry. It tells of part of a conflict that began with competing claims to imperial succession between two sons of Emperor Go-

Saga 後嵯峨天皇 (r. 1242-1246), and extended over roughly seventy years into the fourteenth century.

In an attempt to maintain an equal distribution of power between the two competing lines of succession, the Kamakura bakufu established a system in which the office of emperor was handed down alternately to each line by naming a crown prince from the opposite line as the current emperor. This process of selecting rulers from two separate lines turned into a political rivalry that eventually dissolved into military conflict in 1331 with the fall of the Kamakura bakufu.⁹⁸ By the middle of the fourteenth century, the time of *Solace of Words*, each family line had taken up its own court—the “Northern Court” in Kyoto, and the “Southern Court” in Yoshino—hence the name for this period in Japanese history, the Nanbokuchō era, which is literally the era of the “Southern and Northern Courts.” The military strategy of which we get a glimpse in *Solace of Words* takes place at the height of an ever-intensifying dispute over which line had legitimate claim to the throne. In general, we see that on the one hand, the Northern (Jimyōin 持明院) lineage held claim to the traditional seat of political power, the imperial palace in the capital, present-day Kyoto. On the other hand, the Southern (Daikakuji 大覚寺) lineage argued that they were in possession of the imperial regalia, and that theirs was the bloodline that extended unbroken back in history to the first mortal emperor, Jimmu 神武天皇 (mid-7th c.), and before him, to the generations of the ruling gods.

⁹⁸ Although Ashikaga Takauji established himself and his selected emperor in the Capital by 1336, the conflict between the rival courts would not be resolved until the turn of the fifteenth century, when the third Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimitsu, unified the Southern and Northern Courts.

The historical events shape the narrative of *Solace of Words* in a way that is not manifestly apparent in *Souvenirs for the Capital*. Although Yoshimoto and Sôkyû made their journeys, and wrote their journals, within only a few years of each other—in 1353 and sometime between 1350-52, respectively—the danger and uncertainty of travel during those years is represented in much more concrete terms in Yoshimoto’s *Solace of Words*. However, *Solace of Words* does not neglect such abstract notions of impermanence as the observation that “one cannot find refuge even in a rock cave” in his introduction. This phrase alludes to *Kokinshû* Misc. II, no. 952 (poet unknown):

ikanaran	How long
iwaho no naka ni	must I live hidden
sumaba ka ha	in a mountain cave?
yo no uki koto no	Until news of the terrible things
kikoe kozaramu	of this world no longer reach my ears?

poet unknown
(*SNKBT* 5: 286)

As such, the introduction of *Solace of Words* does deal directly with the notion of travel as an act of rejecting “the world,” which in this case is a metaphor for the social structure of life in the Capital.

The three basic principles of Buddhist teaching are that first, all things are impermanent; second, all things lack a consistent self (i.e., there is no “ego,” *muga* 無我); and third, that religious practice is a means of achieving enlightenment by escaping from the karmic cycle of death and rebirth.⁹⁹ The notion of the karmic cycle is based upon an underlying view that all life is suffering. This suffering is brought about and perpetuated

⁹⁹ Because of recent scholarship showing that sectarianism was not as important in defining Buddhist practice of the medieval era as previously imagined, I am purposely taking a general view of “Buddhism” without identifying specific sects.

by desire, or feelings of attachment to worldly things, including fame, material objects, human relationships, and the like. In general, Buddhist philosophy of the time held that feelings of attachment inevitably lead to suffering because we will necessarily lose those things. And the only way to transcend that suffering is through enlightenment—attained in part by realizing that all things are impermanent.¹⁰⁰

This is why becoming a monk or a nun upon entering an official religious institution was commonly called “discarding the world” (*yo wo suteru* 世を捨る). It was both a literal and symbolic act of cutting these emotional attachments to material things. This notion of turning one’s back on the world, when “world” means the social structure of daily life, is the underlying perspective the travel journals of this period. In nearly every example of travel writing during the medieval era, the departure represents a similar process of discarding one set of social roles (courtier, statesman, priest) to take up another (poet, traveler, lay monk). In every example, there is a shift from carrying out one’s roles within a specific network of institutional affiliations, whether this is the imperial palace, a family line, a temple complex, or otherwise. Even in the case of travelers who explicitly take on the role of a lay monk, the “religious practice” (*shugyō* 修行) was carried out in the act of traveling or wandering, and so there was no explicit tie to a religious institution.

As we have seen in both *Souvenirs for the Capital* and *Solace of Words*, the initial departure scene in particular describes a process by which the persona of traveler-poet is constructed precisely by cutting the emotional and material ties to his “world,” that is, the

¹⁰⁰ Robert Morrell makes a succinct discussion of Buddhist philosophy in medieval Japanese cultural production in his *Sand and Pebbles* (1-10).

social structure in which he exists and functions. In particular, the traveler almost invariably sends his thoughts out on the road even before he takes a single step. For example, Yoshimoto's thoughts extend far ahead of his feet: "I departed from my hut, my thoughts fixed on the long road to the east" (*Kuchizusami* 366).¹⁰¹ This works to reject the structure he currently inhabits, and becomes a symbolic rejection of the notion of a "permanent home."

However, there is a sharp contradiction between this ideology and the realities of daily life, the latter of which is painfully visible in Yoshimoto's situation. For those who had such "worldly ties" as a residence in the Capital, an influential familial line, a lofty social rank, or a powerful official position at court, as the historical Nijô Yoshimoto did, the fabric of one's existence was made up of all manners of egotistical desires and attachments to impermanent things. Thus the realization that "one cannot find refuge even in a rock cave" or that there is no "concealed mountain trail upon which I could rely" becomes undeniable evidence that to suffer the loss of any of these worldly attachments brings about real heartache and suffering.

The remote "rock cave" of KKS 952 (*ikanaran*), above, suggests an active distancing from the Capital, although it does little to protect against "news of the terrible

¹⁰¹ This is a common theme in travel writing: Sôkyû thinks about the roads traveled by his predecessor as he rejects the place he has called home: "...I resolved to follow into the past the tracks left under trees and over rocks. Thinking that no place would become my permanent home, I left Tsukushi..." (*Kuchizusami* 348). Famously, Bashô also sets his sights on a specific destination: "...together with the rising mist of spring my mind turned to crossing the Shirakawa Barrier" (*SNKBZ* 71: 75).

things of this world.”¹⁰² Yoshimoto emphasizes this sentiment by immediately referencing another poem on a similar topic. The poem, which incidentally appears in the same section as *KKS* 952, is by Mononobe no Yoshina 物部良名, in *Kokinshû*,

Miscellaneous II, no. 955:

yo no uki me
mien yamaji ni
iram ni wa
omofu hito koso
hodashi narikere

In my resolve to enter the mountain path
whence I cannot see
the sorrows of this world
it is the one I love
that ties me down

Mononobe no Yoshina
(*SNKBT* 5: 287)

The road here is a clear metaphor for Buddhist practice in which the Dharma is a path, or *michi* 道. But read in *Solace of Words* against the disastrous backdrop of military attack on the Capital, the reference takes one step further the idea of leaving the “world” of the social structure. At the same time, it is impossible not to recognize the obstacles in carrying out this rupture from the social structure by setting out on the road. For the poet of this *Kokinshû* poem, it is feelings of romantic love are what prevent him from entering formal Buddhist practice, but in the context of Yoshimoto setting out to join the imperial party at Ojima, this reading shifts to a more indefinite expression of desire to remain in the Capital.

To return to the image of formal Buddhist practice from a literary perspective, we see the act of entering a Buddhist temple as the only lasting solution for the suffering that arises out of feeling ties to the “world,” precisely because it does indeed offer an

¹⁰² *KKS* Misc. II, no. 952 (poet unknown): “How deep a mountain cave must I hide in? No matter how far away I live, will news of the terrible things of this world yet reach my ears?” (*SNKBT* 5: 286).

alternative in the sense of an escape or salvation. And yet it requires something of a preemptive detachment from those things that are so dear—in other words, to follow precisely the teachings of Buddhism at this time meant to take the road of the ascetic practitioner and to turn away from those desires rather than to continue pursuing them until they are unexpectedly removed from one's life.

It is possible that this route of the ascetic promised a sense of control in the path to enlightenment, although this too was imperfect because to openly strive for enlightenment in itself was an obstructive desire. As such, a literal adoption of the basic principles of Buddhism through ascetic practice is better understood in most cases as an unattainable ideal, and perhaps explains the frequency with which literary characters express a longing to “discard the world” but then continue along in their daily life without taking concrete steps to literally become a recluse, or a monk or nun. This is because it was simply not practical, necessary, or even possible for a great many to truly exit their social structure. And so the next best thing was to return to this awareness during any painful moment in one's life, as a reminder that suffering is but an underlying and ever-present reality of existence. In these cases the loss is not so great as to rupture the status quo for the person's position within the social structure. Perhaps we can generalize about the awareness of and meditation upon Buddhist teaching (the impermanence of things, and life as suffering) such that where this philosophy soothes the pain of a sorrowful event, it has maintained the person's position within the social

structure. And where it does not soothe, the character (persona) experiences a rupture and is compelled to exit the social structure.¹⁰³

To actually do so is in fact a sign of such dire circumstances as to suggest the impossibility of maintaining a status quo within the greater social structure, or “the world” (*yo* 世) within which one has thus far existed. The drama of such an internal conflict, in which the character feels he or she can no longer continue living under certain social circumstances, is a powerful sign of having no other option but to either take the tonsure or take one’s own life.¹⁰⁴

This theme of extreme disenchantment with attempting to maintain the status quo of daily life becomes a powerful rhetorical tool in the thirteenth-century *Tale of Saigyô* 西行物語. The *Tale of Saigyô* uses Saigyô’s most famous poems to narrate and describe the circumstances of his ascetic wanderings. It begins with a transition from his role as Norikiyo, an official in the imperial court: in addition to being an excellent poet and accomplished scholar, as well as a skilled archer and *kemari* 蹴鞠 practitioner, Norikiyo was a descendant of a important military family and, thanks to his humility and grace at court, enjoyed the favor of Emperor Toba 鳥羽天皇 (1103-1156) (McKinney 17). He

¹⁰³ In this view, the “sorrowful event” does not necessarily have to be a violent one as the attack on the Capital that sent Yoshimoto to Ojima. It can also be as quiet and abstract as feeling the “emptiness of things” resonating deeply within oneself, as in the example of the transition from the figure of Norikiyo to Saigyô as detailed in the *Tale of Saigyô*.

¹⁰⁴ The two are often parallel, as in the *Genji* characters of the Third Princess and Ukifune, to name but a few.

was also of course sensitive to the teachings of Buddhism, and there are several moments in which Norikiyo expresses his desire to dedicate his life to its path.¹⁰⁵

It is only after this lengthy buildup that Norikiyo finally acts upon his decision to take the tonsure. This unfolds over an undetermined period of time, but the passage of time begins to crystallize, and the pace increases, as Norikiyo nears his moment of action. Finally, when he is feeling most painfully his love for his family, Norikiyo makes a sudden decision to “begin severing the ties of earthly passions...and mercilessly [kicks] his daughter from the veranda” where she greets him upon his return home (McKinney 28). Then, after spending the night trying in vain to enlist his wife’s support in his decision, he rashly proceeds to cut off all his hair as a symbol of his decision to enter ascetic practice, and leaves his home to take the tonsure at the hut of a “saintly hermit” in the foothills of the Capital. With that official ceremony, he also gains his monks’ robes and most importantly, his Buddhist name, Saigyô (McKinney 29). This moment takes shape in the *Illustrated Tale of Saigyô* (*Saigyô monogatari emaki* 西行物語絵巻) as an increasingly rapid succession of unexpected and unruly acts, from rushing out through the palace gates, returning home in determination, kicking his daughter to the ground as she runs to greet him, and finally cutting off all of his hair.

¹⁰⁵ In this version of the text (McKinney, tr.), this happens eight times: Upon refusing promotion beyond the fifth rank (18-19); In “quiet reflection” (19-20); in turning to poetic composition to “clear...the worldly dust from his heart” (20-21); after receiving lavish gifts from the Retired Emperor Toba for composing ten *byôbu uta*, or poems on screen paintings (21-24); upon the sudden and unexpected death of his friend (24-25); when he first makes up his mind to tell the retired emperor of his decision (25-26); after letting the spring slip by without acting on his decision (26); and doing the same in the fall of that year (26-27). Note that with the exception of the *byôbu uta* passage, each of these moments in which Norikiyo expresses desire to leave the world is presented in a prose passage that is capped by either his own poems, or a sutra in verse form (for the latter, see 19).

In this case, it was not the moment of Norikiyo's enlightenment, but his transformation into Saigyô, that was violent. Either way, it demonstrates that a moment of rupture is necessary to facilitate the transition from a member of society into religious practitioner or ascetic. And in the case of the transition from statesman to traveling-poet in *Solace of Words*, or from Yoshimoto as person to persona, this moment of rupture corresponds with exiting the social structure and entering the liminal space of travel or wandering.

The project of constructing a history through the aura of a famous place is a way to suggest an alternate lineage, even in the case of Sôkyû, who may not have been born into a very high station.¹⁰⁶ But this view of the place as a gateway for accessing and constructing a selective version of history is not necessarily a conscious act. Nor is it limited to travelers who are in need of a different lineage. Yoshimoto, for example, could hardly have asked for a better list of literary and political figures to support his own station in life. What matters the most here is that the journey becomes for him a liminal space, and the places he visits provide access to a specific set of historical figures, and in

¹⁰⁶ Yoshimoto and Sôkyû were contemporaries, and interacted at least a few times. Yoshimoto wrote a postscript to *Miyako no tsuto* in 1367. Sôkyû also participated in at least one poetry event at Yoshimoto's mansion: the *Nenju gyôji uta-awase* (1367 in the text of the Kokubungaku shiryôkan), which also included Imagawa Ryôshun (author of *Michiyukiburi*), and Yotsutsuji Yoshinari (author of *Kakaisho*), as well as Yoshimoto's sons, Moroyoshi and Morotsugu. Sôkyû and Ryôshun perhaps also participated in another event at Yoshimoto's mansion, held in the same year, the *Shintamatsushimasha uta-awase* (Poetry Competition at Shintamatsushima Shrine, 1367). In the former, the entire group judged the poems, with a summary by Tamehide and an explanation of the *nenju gyôji* (annual events) by Yoshimoto. The latter was sponsored by Yoshiakira and featured 66 participants, with Tamehide selecting the topics. There was yet another event at the palace, initiated by Yoshiakira and Tamehide, called *Chuden waka gokai* (1367).

conjunction with that, a specific set of information, in the sense of maintaining a sense of precedent and establishing authority therein.

Therefore, just like all of the other travel journals discussed in this dissertation, *Solace of Words* makes specific references against the backdrop of a presumed common knowledge shared with contemporaneous readers. And part of this common knowledge, in the case of *Solace of Words*, is the extremely volatile political atmosphere in the middle of the fourteenth century, in which claims to power were unstable and often contested.

In it, Yoshimoto takes a critical look at the phenomenon of famous places and their use in cultural production. The famous names of places as well as political figures, poets, and literary works lend authority to Yoshimoto's words and actions, particularly his judgments on the value of specific places, as well as the propriety of the events that take place, including a ceremony by their Emperor Go-Kôgon, who is young and inexperienced, and the arrival of Ashikaga Takauji, among others. The text also deals directly with issues of precedent in order to assert the legitimacy of his emperor. Yoshimoto discusses events that appear out of the ordinary, such as the imperial party's sudden flight from the Capital, and frames those events in terms of precedent in order to justify the claims of those sympathetic to the Northern Court. In a context of extreme conflict over authority and legitimacy between the Northern and Southern Courts, this functions as a performative statement of a political ideology that locates imperial power in Go-Kôgon. In conjunction with this exercise of precedent, the ritualistic act of naming important places and figures becomes an act of literary and historical interpretation and appropriation with political implications. Yoshimoto's journey to Ojima, which is in fact

a sudden flight from an invasion of the Capital by the Southern military, provides another context for discussing the issues of center and periphery as well, particularly as they relate to the legitimizing function of a “center” for anyone making claims to political power.

Making Claims to Authority

Solace of Words at Ojima constructs a claim to power by pointing directly to past symbols of authority. In a rivalry such as the one between the Northern and Southern Courts, we can see a wide array of symbols held up to legitimate claims to power, including the blood lineage of the imperial family, the imperial regalia, and access to the imperial palace in the Capital.¹⁰⁷ In addition to this, Thomas Conlan (2011) shows that ritual authority had become increasingly important in this conflict, perhaps as a result of the Southern Court finding itself in Yoshino rather than in the imperial palace itself. In the case of *Solace of Words*, symbols of authority are identified in specific people, events, texts, and buildings, and access to those symbols comes from traveling to the place and intoning the place name in order to interact with the aura of that place. Because their flight from the imperial palace is a true exile in the sense that it disconnects Emperor Go-Kôgon, and by association, Takauji as well, from one undeniable center of power and source of authority, the legitimacy of the Northern Court is seriously compromised. Because this center is no longer accessible, the next claim to legitimacy is

¹⁰⁷ In Yoshimoto’s time, Go-Daigo and the Southern Court held the imperial regalia and could claim a “purer” blood lineage to the Emperors leading up to the end of the Kamakura period. In contrast to this, Go-Kôgon and the Northern Court had control of the imperial palace, as well as the backing of the Ashikaga shogunate.

through the figure of the emperor himself. Conlan identifies control over questions of precedent, as well as the ritual role of the emperor and his link to sacred sites as the source of this authority.

Yoshimoto wields knowledge of precedent, and so he has access to and control over how the imperial authority is figured. In addition to this, we see that the journey described in *Solace of Words* becomes a way to access authority both in the act of travel as “imperial Excursion,” which one can imagine as a state of being that Yoshimoto establishes through historical examples, and also in the act of travel as “exile” through which the traveler gains access to the aura of the geographic place itself, as a point in which to access the important names associated with that place name. This situation in which claims to legitimacy depends upon the location of the Emperor is reflected in *Solace of Words* in seemingly contradictory ways. Because an imperial progress is an example in which the emperor retains complete authority, this state of being benefits by a focus on travel and distance from the Capital. As such, Yoshimoto draws upon past examples of imperial travel in *Solace of Words*. By doing this, he acknowledges and sheds new light upon the compromised position in which they have found themselves—a state of exile. However, the text frequently uses those observations to shift the perspective from exile to travel in order to assert the legitimacy of Emperor Go-Kôgon,

When access to the central location of political authority is out of reach, what other options remain open to those who would make such a claim? We have seen that combining the name of a figure with a specific place name not only alludes to specific base texts, but also makes a reinterpretation of those texts within the new context of the journey. Another result of this sort of interpretation is that the text begins to construct a

very specific lineage—one that is based on a conscious act of naming past figures and literary works, rather than a lineage in the more conventional sense of familial or institutional inheritance. The primary difference between these two “types” is that the former, a constructed lineage, takes its shape according to the references that the traveler makes in his travel journal, that is, within the liminal space of the journey. In contrast to this, the latter, as familial or institutional lineage, is something over which the member of society generally has little or no control, that is, within the space of the social structure.¹⁰⁸

One example of the specific way Yoshimoto uses specific literary references to construct a literary lineage for himself is in using the diction of the *Genji*. In particular, the attitude toward the “common locals” supports the image of courtiers as well-bred aristocrats accustomed to using outwardly visible symbols to signal their rank, no matter

¹⁰⁸ One possible exception to this is adoptions, and Yoshimoto himself is an example of this. In the years immediately after the fall of the Kamakura shogunate, Yoshimoto seems to have made a calculated decision to break with his father, who had allied himself with the Southern Court, and to join Takauji’s cause. In order to imagine how the respective types of lineage exist for the figure of Yoshimoto (the persona as we read him in *Solace of Words*), it is useful to draw upon the language of Victor Turner’s definitions of social structure and liminal space as it relates to his theory of rites of passage. This is related to Turner’s view of pilgrimage (as one type of rite of passage), but takes a broader and more universal relevance as it applies to ritual. Within this theoretical framework, I treat poetic composition and recitation (and as an extension of this, the act of naming in general) as one type of a ritual performance (see Ebersole on the ritual function of poetry in premodern Japan). We will see more literal cases of ritual in *Solace of Words*, as Yoshimoto discusses such festivals as the mid-autumn moon (the 15th night of the eighth month), the Chrysanthemum Festival (the 9th day of the ninth month), and the Rice Festival as it is suggested in the “spiritual air” of the structures built for the Emperor’s lodgings. While the examples in *Solace of Words* are many (and in many cases literal festivals), we can see still examples of poetry as ritual across many travel journal texts, including *Souvenirs*, as well as in such text as Ashikaga Yoshiakira’s *Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi*, or the *Fuji Viewing* set of diaries in Chapter 3.

how burdensome.¹⁰⁹ However, Yoshimoto and his contemporaries appear to happily adopt a style of dress that is more practical for living away from the comfort of the Capital. The sight is incongruous at first, and draws Yoshimoto's ridicule: "The appearance of the courtiers in unfamiliar *ebisu* clothes gave them the look of warriors. Still they looked ready to battle over their poetry, each moved by his thoughts of the moment."¹¹⁰ But we see the courtiers frequently don the rougher *ebisu* dress, in many cases for days on the road, or in rainy weather, or when speed is required, particularly when traveling along with Takauji and his men, who are known for keeping a fast pace on the road.¹¹¹ It is not portrayed in a negative way in these moments, as when the Emperor and his entourage moved temporarily to Tarui: "There was no one in courtier dress there, and it was novel to see all the figures dressed in *ebisu* wear" (*Kuchizusami* 374).

When Takauji's armies first arrive at Tarui, it is clear that clothing is an important tool for identifying the identity of the person wearing that clothing.¹¹² Yoshimoto's descriptions of the armor—on men and horses alike—are rich and we imagine him captivated by its brilliance:

¹⁰⁹ Consider the usual long hair of the court ladies, and the elaborate headwear (for example, *karasu bôshi*) of the men.

¹¹⁰ *Kuchizusami*, 373. Depending on the source or the context, the word *ebisu* (戎) can mean "barbarian" in the sense of the native peoples that lived in the northeastern region of Honshu, who were considered by the Japanese to be enemies, and against whom the construction of the highway Barriers (*seki* 関) was undertaken. In *Ojima* it clearly refers to the warriors, and perhaps in some ways, simply to the humble sort of person who is accustomed to physical labor of any sort. In any case, it means something like "outsider" from the point of view of the courtier. As such, when *ebisu* refers to clothing, it emphasizes the type that allows freedom of movement.

¹¹¹ See Conlan 2003.

¹¹² See discussion of using clothing and outward appearances to distinguish between categories of "courtier" and "warrior" in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

The armor of various colors—the helmets with their prongs that gleamed as though there were water dripping down them and their tips sparkling in the light—shone in the evening sunlight. It gave a feeling like the festivities of that day, and every one of them looked as though they sparkled. (*Kuchizusami* 376)

In the passage above, we find no fewer than five components that describe qualities of light, including “gleamed as though there were water dripping” (*mizu no taru yô naru*), “sparkling” (*kiramu*), “shine” (*kagayaku*), “evening sunlight” (*yûhi*), and “sparkled” (*kirakirashi*). Doubtless this is due as much to the magnificent spectacle of the warriors as to Yoshimoto’s exhilaration that Takauji has finally arrived in Tarui. Because the imperial party had to wait several weeks, and in multiple locations, Takauji’s appearance was surely a relief in the assurance of his military support.

But the passage also ascribes the ritual air of a festival to Takauji’s arrival, and so places confidence in his role as both a military power and a political. It is uncertain to which festival (*matsuri* 祭) Yoshimoto specifically refers by his phrase, “the festivities of that day.”¹¹³ Based on the timing of Takauji’s arrival on the third day of the ninth month, together with the imagery of the lights and sun, it is likely that this refers to a lantern ritual called *Gotô* 御灯. The *Gotô* ritual, in which the Emperor presents a lantern as an offering of light to the North Star, was conducted on the third day of the third and ninth

¹¹³ Fukuda reads *hitohi* (一日) as “the day before” (「先日の」) (*Kuchizusami* 376n11). I have translated it as “of that [same] day” based on the term *hitohi* as also meaning “the day” in a more general sense, as well as “the whole day through” (*NKD*). As for the festival, Fukuda suggests this could mean the Kamo festival (*Kamo no matsuri* 賀茂祭). Further, there is apparently a linguistic inconsistency here across the different textual variants of *Solace of Words*, where the word is transcribed as either “festival” (*matsuri*) or “visit” (*mairi*) (*Kuchizusami* 376n11-12). Taking it to be “festival,” the Kamo festival is unlikely because it is held on the fifteenth day of the fifth month, and holds the seasonal *aoi* (hollyhock) as a central image. In contrast, the timing and the imagery of *Gotô*, as well as Yoshimoto’s use of *Gotô* in other examples of poetic composition, strongly support the reading as explained in the present study.

months of the lunar year.¹¹⁴ In this way, Yoshimoto uses this comparison between the sparkling light of the warriors' armor to the lanterns of the *Gotô* ritual in order to make a concrete link between Takauji and the legitimizing function of ritual festivals that is reserved for the Emperor and a limited group of the most influential political figures.

Clothing is used not simply to determine which members of the traveling party are courtiers and which are warriors, but works in its intricacy to identify individuals. We recognize Takauji's page because of the way he stands out from the rest,¹¹⁵ and of course there is Takauji himself, who wore "gold brocade beneath his full armor" (*Kuchizusami* 375). Ultimately, it is in large part the clothing that designated how far into the Palace grounds each person was permitted: when the party was entering the "original imperial palace" (*moto no dairi* もとの内裏) and the Emperor is transported to the central hall (*Shishin-den* 紫宸殿), we see that "the armored warriors proceeded until just beyond the

¹¹⁴ *Gotô* is also read as *Mitô* or *Miakashi*. It has been practiced by the emperor and courtiers since at least the 9th century (Tomoyasu). Further, Yoshimoto has written about this lantern ritual on at least one other occasion, in his compendium of annual events, *Kenmu nenjû gyôji* 建武年中行事 (Kidô 314). *Gotô* was also a topic for a poetry gathering which Yoshimoto sponsored and hosted at his mansion, the *Poetry Contest on Annual Events* (*Nenjû gyôji utaawase* 年中行事歌合):

tamukai suru	Becoming entwined with
hoshi no hikari ni	the shining of the stars
makafu kana	that face down from above
mine ni kakaguru	following the shape of the peak
aki no tomoshi hi	the shining fires of autumn

Imagawa Ryôshun
(*SKT* 23: 189)

Incidentally, Sôkyû was also in attendance at the *Nenjû gyôji utaawase*.

¹¹⁵ "Myô-tsuru-maru, outfitted beyond compare, and riding on a black horse said to be the greatest in the Eastern Provinces. He was truly a sight to behold. Even the trefoil-knot hairstyle on someone older did not look at all bad, as he was perfectly dressed for the occasion, and stood out from the others" (*Kuchizusami* 375).

outer gates” while “only those in court dress went as far as the inner courtyard” (*Kuchizusami* 380).

Among others, Thomas Conlan (2011) has shown that access to the imperial palace is highly restricted because it is one of the most important locations of ritual power in this age. Being guaranteed access to the full extent of one’s position, therefore, clearly depended on using clothing, too, as a symbol for displaying that position publicly. The apparent relaxing of these clothing practices among the courtiers during travel, then, is suggestive of their diminished position while away from the Capital.

During this brief exile in Ojima and Tarui, then, Yoshimoto is faced with the distinct problem of being denied access to the imperial palace in the Capital, but he draws on examples from history to demonstrate how rulers in the past had maintained their authority to rule even while away from the court. This is a complicated process, however, because it relies on the Capital as the center and legitimizing source of imperial authority even as it argues that the Emperor need not be in the Capital in order to manifest this authority. Similarly, Yoshimoto draws on historical and literary examples of travel as evidence of Emperor Go-Kôgon’s political power, even as the reason for this particular journey has been forced upon them by an outside military threat. As a result of the contradictory situation in which he finds himself, Yoshimoto, the persona who argues for the legitimacy of his Emperor in the pages of *Solace of Words*, appears to vacillate between two competing narratives, but ultimately resolves his ambivalence by constructing a variant lineage of authority out of the names of people and places that he comes across during his journey. It is an act of naturalizing what is actually irregular—being on a journey despite feeling that they should be in the palace. And an important

part of this process is to imagine possible alternatives for defining that central structure of ritual power, the imperial palace.

Imperial Palaces

In *Solace of Words*, from the moment he departed from the Capital, Yoshimoto was eager to make quick progress to meet Emperor Go-Kôgon in Ojima. This urgency is particularly clear in the stretch between Lake Biwa and Oiso no Mori. So much so that the famous places he passed were as much a distraction to the progression of the narrative as they were an outline for it.¹¹⁶ As he makes his way further along the road, Yoshimoto feels that he is nearing his destination:

Such places as Mount Toko in Inukami, and Isaya River did not exactly stand out, and so I did not remark where we were [I did not distinguish it from its surroundings]. Although I wanted to inquire into well-known places, it is inconvenient to keep seeking elegance under the skies of this sort of journey, and so I passed right through them. As for my wasting condition in the countryside, as they say, “Tell no one of my fickle repute, even in the aftertime.” And I certainly longed to order these mountain people into silence. Nearing Mount Ibuki, I gazed across at it from afar, meaning to get to its base, and thinking that while it was not quite in the clouds, it was very close to being so. (*Kuchizusami* 349)

The already hurried pace picks up even more speed, and the *utamakura* sites Mount Toko and Isaya River blend into the scenery, barely distinguishable from the landscape around them, as Yoshimoto rushes by.¹¹⁷ Similarly, his “wasting condition in the countryside”

¹¹⁶ This is in reference to the way the format of a travel journal tends to be shaped by the geography, in that place names provide the structure of a *kikôbun* text much in the same way that dates provide the structure of a diary.

¹¹⁷ This phrase recalls the line, “do not let slip my name!” in the famous poem about Inukami, Mount Toko, and Isaya River, *KKS Love III*, no. 1108:

echoes the discomfort that Yoshimoto associates with his illness and with life on the road, as well as his anxiety over the political situation that has sent him there. The passage also maintains the pejorative view of the countryside and its inhabitants, in another reference to the *Tale of Genji*.¹¹⁸ But in this passage, we also begin to see a pattern of reconciling and justifying this state of exile, and a turn toward asserting the Emperor's legitimacy to rule despite his compromised position in Ojima.

From his vantage point around Inukami, Yoshimoto, looking in the direction of where Ojima would lie to his east, sees Mount Ibuki. He must pass the mountain in order to reach Ojima, where he has planned to meet Emperor Go-Kôgon. Mount Ibuki is an *utamakura* site, a famous place, known not only for the plant called *sashimo*, a type of mugwort, but also for the smoke from this vegetation as it burns in brush fires. Instead of the typical image of smoke, however, we see that Yoshimoto uses the phrase, "the cloud realm" (*kumoi* 雲井). In the sense of creating a visual scene, this could very well be a

Inukami no
Toko no yama naru
Isaya kawa
isa to kotahete
waga na morasuna

Oh, unknowing River Isaya
at Mount Toko
of Inugami—
answer, "No, I don't know!"
and do not let slip my name!

Empress Saimei
(*SNKBT* 5: 336)

The final phrase plays on the meaning of "name" as "reputation," and can also mean, "Tell no one of my fickle repute, even in the aftertime." See Kamens, 260-261n22, for a detailed discussion of the variants of this poem.

¹¹⁸ Yoshimoto extends the Inugami reference by an additional step to "The Twilight Beauty" (Yûgao) chapter of the *Genji*, which also uses the phrase, "do not let slip my name!" (*na morasuna* 名漏らすな). When Genji and his lover, Yûgao, go together to a remote estate, a low-ranking steward, seeing that Genji is traveling without his usual entourage, asks whether he should summon additional help, and Genji "orders him to silence [*kuchi gatame*] with a sharp command (*Kuchizusami* 368). In the *Genji*: "Genji quickly silenced him [*kuchi gatamesase*]. 'I came here purposely to hide. Say not a word about this [*morasuna*] to anyone'" (Tyler, 65; *SNKBT* 19: 119).

description of clouds around the peak of the mountain. Or it could in turn be a metaphorical reference to clouds, as represented in a poem by Priest Nyogan 如願 (1184-1240):

sashimo kusa	It looks as though
arawa ni moyu to	the mugwort is burning—
miyuru kana	the dense clouds hovering
Ibuki no yama ni	over the slopes
kakaru murakumo	of Mount Ibuki.

Priest Nyogan
(UD)

The clouds in the Nyogan poem are an image that resembles the faint smoke of burning mugwort, the latter of which is much more frequently associated with Mount Ibuki than are the clouds mentioned here.

However, in Yoshimoto's poem, the image of clouds also suggests the imperial palace, for which clouds have been a common metaphor since the eighth century.¹¹⁹ With this in mind, it is a simple thing to treat Ojima simply as a new, or temporary, location of the imperial palace. This reading would lend a more practical view of the journey to Yoshimoto's observation on Mount Ibuki, giving the poem the following meaning: "Approaching the foothills of Mount Ibuki, the court was still far away, but seemed closer and within reach." Or, in a more symbolic and self-conscious reading of the same line, Yoshimoto notes that his destination beyond Ibuki "was not exactly the imperial palace, but it will have to do for now."

The first half of *Solace of Words*, until Yoshimoto's arrival at Ojima, adopts the format and style of a typical travel journal. In contrast to this, the latter half of the journal

¹¹⁹ *Kumoi* (雲井・雲居) occurs in the eighth century *Man'yôshû*, and signified the lofty distance of the highest members of court as residing above the clouds in the sky (WD).

shifts dramatically in tone and content. From descriptions of travel through a landscape paired with poems in a *kikôbun* format, Yoshimoto shifts to details about Ojima and its surroundings, which are not famous places. In addition to this, Yoshimoto turns to listing names of specific people present and describing interactions, decisions, and movements, such as meeting Ashikaga Takauji and preparing rooms for Emperor Go-Kôgon, in precise detail. This begins to resemble the court diary of an official, albeit written in *kana* rather than *kanbun*.

The language throughout *Solace of Words* further supports this view of the emperor's residence as the imperial palace. When Yoshimoto discusses the buildings in which the Emperor is staying, for there are more than one, he generally alternates between the terms, "temporary palace" and "imperial palace." In his description of Emperor Go-Kôgon's return to the Capital, Yoshimoto ultimately uses the phrase, "the original imperial palace," in order to distinguish this from the other various and equally legitimate Palaces that served as lodging along the road.¹²⁰ This is further supported by the term, "imperial progress" to discuss their journey in terms of an official, and presumably planned, excursion by the emperor and his party, rather than an unscheduled and frantic flight from the violent threat posed to him by the Southern Court's attack on

¹²⁰ *Waka no utamakura – chimei daijiten* (Yoshihara 2008): The "imperial palace" (*dairi* 内裏) is the term that is most typically used for the locus for the court in the Capital. There are also several poetic words that are synonymous with *dairi*, including the "Cloud Realm" (*kumoi* 雲井), the "August Place" (*gosho* 御所), and a pillow-word that has come to stand for the imperial palace on its own, *momoshiki* (百敷); all of these arise in *Solace of Words*. The term "temporary palace" (*tongû* 頓宮) is no less official, however, and is specifically used to discuss the lodgings of Emperors or Retired Emperors who go on official excursions (such as imperial pilgrimages).

the Capital.¹²¹ The diction thus reflects a subtle shift in how authority in relation to space is constructed. While it posits a map of authority as radiating outward from a center, it challenges the notion of the Capital itself as an absolute center. It constructs space as a network of center – periphery that follows the figure of the emperor rather than as a stable and fixed geography.

This move is neither absolute nor is it consistent. Instead, the move toward adjusting our perspective of power as it relates to geography appears to proceed in fits and starts as Yoshimoto addresses the adjustments required for living in Ojima. At first, the Ojima Palace, with its “roof made of wooden boards” and with “the mountains themselves right up to the eaves” seems in some ways a ramshackle and claustrophobic place. Nonetheless Yoshimoto finds a symbol of status in the roof, the construction of which “was rare in this area.” The looming mountain, too, “the crags and trees, the flowing of the water, and other features of this place” lends an uncommon aesthetics to their immediate surroundings. In this, Yoshimoto suggests he has access to a refined beauty that is unavailable in the more urbane environment of his home: “even if this were in the midst of the Capital a place such as this could not be more captivating in its landscaping” (*Kuchizusami* 370).¹²² It is likely that Toki Yoriyasu 土岐頼康 (1318-88),

¹²¹ In addition to this, we see in the release of various imperial “orders” a similar move to justify through language events and actions that are essentially imposed upon the emperor and his advisors. This is particularly clear in response to the actions taken by the Ashikaga shogun: As Yoshimoto advises Emperor Go-Kôgon to return at once to the Tarui Palace (having had to evacuate the previous night because of a terrible storm), they discovered that Takauji, too, had made a decision to do the same. In a scene that more than hints at the true structure of power in this situation, Go-Kôgon all but scrambles to issue an order in time to justify Takauji’s actions, and so “everyone hurried to depart” (*Kuchizusami* 378).

¹²²

the provincial military governor (*shugo*) of Mino province, was the one who arranged the construction of this “temporary palace” in Ojima for Emperor Go-Kôgon.

Yoshimoto’s ambivalence continues throughout, but nearly every loss, expressed as a discomfort or inconvenience, is balanced with an assertion of authority by emphasizing the value inherent in his situation. Later, Yoshimoto describes the same building in similar terms:

The court felt enclosed on a mountaintop amidst the clouds that never cleared, and it was quite gloomy. The eaves immediately before were completely shrouded in the misty clouds, and wind in the mountain pines blew fiercely down from the peak. In all, there was an abundance of nothing but alarming things. To rely upon such a place as this to become a stronghold for the court is a sign of trying times indeed. But the so-called “log palaces” of ancient times were truly no different. Also, as precedents for imperial travel through this province [Mino], Empress Genshō and others have repeatedly traced their footsteps over this land, so there is no cause for alarm. Although there have been times when such Emperors have made unfamiliar mountains their temporary home, still the unfamiliar abode in the mountains made us feel very unsettled, and we missed the Capital greatly, thinking of it from dawn until dusk.
(*Kuchizusami* 372-373)

Again, “the clouds that never cleared” both describes the weather and reflects a gloomy mood at the Ojima palace and dire outlook for its court (*kumoi*). Similarly, the fierce wind from the mountaintop suggests the anxiety about possible attack on the Capital by the Southern Court, which Yoshimoto compared in his introduction to “the ferocious storms blowing through the pines” (*Kuchizusami* 366). The sense of being enclosed and even immobilized within dense clouds, unable to see out and get a clear picture of things, is alarming given the political situation.

This passage lies in stark contradiction to the apparent optimism of the poems immediately preceding it.¹²³ However, this is simply another swing of the pendulum in the text of *Solace of Words* as Yoshimoto acknowledges the difficulty of their situation while also making an effort to assert an unquestionable claim to power for Go-Kôgon. And, to provide another counter-balance to their seemingly precarious position in the wilderness of Mount Ojima, Yoshimoto reminds us, “The so-called ‘log palaces’ of ancient times were truly no different.” Once again, history and precedent are important in justifying the apparently reduced circumstance by reflecting on earlier examples of rustic imperial lodgings.

The term, “log palace” refers to a building built out of raw logs with the bark left intact.¹²⁴ The building perhaps appears unfinished with the darkness of the tree bark, an

¹²³ The poems are an exchange the emperor:

mada shiranu	I have come to see the leaves
miyamagakure ni	hidden deep in these
tazunekite	yet unfamiliar mountains—
shigure mo matanu	they have already turned crimson
kôyo wo zo miru	without even waiting for the autumn rains
	Go-Kôgon
	(<i>Kuchizusami</i> 372)

and Yoshimoto:

Furusato ni	It is time
kaeru miyuki no	for my lord’s journey back
ori kara ya	to his Capital, our hometown—
momiji no nishiki	that must be why the brocade of red leaves
katsu isoguran	are in a hurry to present themselves
	Nijô Yoshimoto
	(<i>Kuchizusami</i> 372)

Together they reflect the two men’s confidence in their ability to return to power at the imperial palace in the Capital, although we must remember that the diary was written shortly after their successful return.

¹²⁴ “Log Palace,” or “Tree-trunk Palace” (*ki no maro dono* 木の丸殿). Other related terms use the image of the darkness of the bark, to produce variations on the name

image that contrasts starkly with the lighter shade of a stripped beam. This reflects its quick construction and temporary function as a palace for an emperor or empress, built on the road while making an imperial progress. Empress Saimei 齊明天皇 (594-661, r. 645-656) is said to have stayed in such a log palace when she traveled to Chikuzen province on the island of Kyushu. She and had stopped there with her entourage in 660-661 to launch a military advance on the Korean peninsula in order to support the kingdom of Paekche against attack by the Silla.¹²⁵

While there, Saimei had a temporary palace out of raw logs built, and because it served as her residence for the duration of her time there, it was called, literally, the “Palace of Tree-Logs” or the Log Palace. It is said that she then recited a poem on the occasion of its construction:

Asakura ya	O Asakura!
ki no marodono ni	Here, in this log palace
waga oreba	saying, “I am here,
waga oreba	I am here”
nanori wo shitsutsu	who is it that goes
yuku wa dare	name-announcing?

Empress Saimei
(UCD)

The term “name-announcing” is a kind of self-appellation, which involves a repetitive statement that locates the speaker in that specific place. There is the sense that the poem

“Black-tree Palace” *kuroki no dono* 黒木の殿, *kuroki no gosho* 黒木の御所, or *kuroki no ya* 黒木の屋 (UCD).

¹²⁵ Silla (J. *Shiragi* 新羅) had formed an alliance with the Tang (of the Chinese continent) to attack Paekche (J. *Kudara* 百濟) and Koguryô (the third of the three kingdoms of the Korean peninsula). This is the reason for the military support by Empress Saimei and her kingdom, Yamato, seeing this advance by Silla together with the powerful Tang as a serious threat to its own sovereignty. Saimei died suddenly while she was in Chikuzen, in 661. Her son, Naka no Ôe took over the operation, although this was ultimately unsuccessful (Ooms 96-99).

poses a question (“who is it who goes?”), but also that in asking that as a rhetorical question, makes the declaration obvious (“I am here, I am here!”). The log palace is an *utamakura*, a place name specifically used in poetry. In this case, the name is not exactly the name of a place in the sense of a part of the natural landscape as a mountain or a river, neither is it fixed in geographic space. However, the phrase “log palace” has been so long associated with the story of Empress Saimei that it has come to be associated with the location of her temporary log palace in Chikuzen Province.¹²⁶

Asakura, the place where Saimei’s palace was built, had therefore become an *utamakura* as well. Like the log palace, Asakura is associated with the ritual of ancient music and dancing of the gods, or *kagura uta* 神楽歌. *Kagura uta* is a ritual performance of poetic recitation combined with dance, or otherwise prescribed movements. Typically a seasonal ritual, they were performed locally as well as professionally, and made prayers for vitality, health, and good harvest. The notion of the *kagura uta* as a direct petition to the local deities is reflected in the name of Asakura in poetry. This is particularly clear in the phrase “voices of Asakura” (*asakura no koe*), and that the name Asakura is frequently paired with the words “to ask” (*kikoyu*) or “to respond” (*kaesu* or *kaesugaesu*), suggesting the high likelihood of initiating a dialogue between man and god in these ritual performances. There are also associations between the log palace at Asakura and the “heavenly rock door” (or stone doors of heaven *ama no iwado*). This refers to an eighth century *Kojiki* legend in which the sun goddess, Amaterasu, secluded herself in a cave, and the world was deprived of sunlight. In an attempt to draw her back out of the

¹²⁶ Dictionaries of place names locate it in present day Fukuoka Prefecture, Asakura-gun, Asakura-chô (*UCD*; *WD*).

cave, the god Uzume no mikoto performed a ritual dance (*kagura*) in front of the stones that block its entrance (*WD*).

This connection between Asakura and the ritual performance of *kagura uta* surely comes from the poem above, which Empress Saimei sung at the site of her log palace, but the connection between ritual and placename remained in poetic practice.¹²⁷ On the most basic level, Saimei's poem is a ritual offering to ask for divine protection on her mission. But the poem is also a dedication for the palace itself, as well as for the geographic location of Asakura, the ground they have come to occupy. The song thus functions as a

¹²⁷ Other poems on this topic include one that is anthologized in *Zoku shikashû*, Gods, no. 364:

Asakura no	Asakura,
koe koso sora ni	its voices ring
kikoyunare	in the sky –
ama no iwado mo	surely now
ima ya akuran	the heavenly rock door will open
	poet unknown
	(<i>WD</i>)

One included in *Fûgashû*, Summer no. 887:

kotowari ya	The heavens respond!
ama no iwado mo	The heavenly rock gate has opened –
akenuran	there in the garden
kumoi no niwa no	above the clouds [the imperial palace]
Asakura no koe	ring the voices of Asakura
	Fujiwara Shunzei
	(<i>WD</i>)

It is also mentioned in the mid-Heian *Diary of Lady Sarashina* (*Sarashina nikki*, no. 43):

Asakura ya	O Asakura!
ima wa kumoi ni	I can hear its name even now
kiku mono wo	above the clouds [at the palace]
naho ki no maro ga	where they proclaim their names
nanori wo ya suru	before the log palace

ritual to designate the newly constructed building as a seat of political rule, the site that houses the undisputed ruler.

This function of the *kagura uta* is further emphasized in a story that attributes Empress Saimei's Asakura – log palace song to Emperor Tenji 天智天皇 (626-671, r. 668-671), son of Saimei. In the thirteenth century *Jikkinshô*, there is a story that tells of Emperor Tenji traveling in Chikuzen province and stopping in Asakura to build a “black tree structure that was called the Log Palace” (*SNKBZ* 51: 26). It was also said that he would insist that any visitors to his “log palace” must first announce their name.¹²⁸

Tenji's poem at that site is recorded in *Jikkinshô* 1:2, “Emperor Tenji's Log Palace:”

Asakura ya	O, Asakura!
ki no marodono ni	In this log palace,
waga oreba nanori wo	saying, “I am here”
shitsutsu	whose child is it that goes
yuku ha tagako zo	name-announcing?

Emperor Tenji
(*SNKBZ* 51: 26-27)

The poem attributed to Emperor Tenji is almost identical to that of Empress Saimei. The main difference is in the poem by Tenji, which asks, “whose child is it?” rather than the phrase, “who is it?” in the poem by Saimei.

Nonetheless, it is clear that this story too, ascribes to the poem the ritual importance of a *kagura uta*. What is more, the *Jikkinshô* story also describes Tenji's

¹²⁸ Because of this anecdote about Tenji, the *utamakura* “log palace” is therefore also connected to the term *nanori*, or announcing one's name (this act is most commonly associated with warriors calling their names out on the battlefield before attacking, often described in the war tales, *Heike* and *Taiheiki*. There is a story in the *Taiheiki* about Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐天皇 staying in a similar such log palace when he is exiled to Oki after his failed Genkô rebellion (1331). Although Go-Daigo had established the rival Southern Court in Yoshino, Nijô Yoshimoto, in his current position, was surely reminded of Go-Daigo in the context of how easily one finds oneself exiled from the Capital.

preparations for the imperial Rice Festival. There is in this yet another link between this legend and the *Solace of Words*. When the imperial party moves to Tarui, Toki Yoriyasu has yet another of these log palaces built for Emperor Go-Kôgon:

The Emperor's residence was made of whole logs with the bark still on. There was a low brush fence around it, and the sacred air over the whole gave the feeling of a ritual imperial Rice Festival building. (*Kuchizusami* 374)

To be sure, Go-Kôgon does not perform the imperial Rice Festival (*Daijô-sai* or *Ôname matsuri* 大嘗祭), in which a newly enthroned Emperor makes a first ceremonial offering of rice to the gods, although the potential is certainly there. Regardless, Yoshimoto compares the atmosphere of the Emperor's temporary palace in Tarui directly to those sacred structures of the Rice Festival, for which occasion a complex of at least three sacred buildings must be newly constructed, all enclosed within a brushwood fence. Moreover, the image of the fence emphasizes this comparison, because of its restrictive function of allowing only the most powerful figures into the center for the sacred rites that are directly linked to the office of the emperor.

The log palace is both a sacred site and a center of political rule that is distant from the Capital. The imagery of the log palace is therefore a direct link to this ritual capacity of the poetic form upon which Yoshimoto draws in *Solace of Words*. Further, Yoshimoto points to the ritual as instilling a notion of power and legitimacy of rule when that poem is so performed as ritual in conjunction with the symbol at the named place, as in Empress Saimei's *kagura uta* dedication to the log palace at Asakura.

Finally, it is instructive to briefly consider the way in which Yoshimoto uses the figure of Empress Genshō in *Solace of Words*. In connection with his musing about the log palaces of Saimei and Tenji, Yoshimoto continues,

Also, as precedents for imperial travel through this province [Mino], Empress Genshō and others have repeatedly traced their footsteps over this land, so there is no cause for alarm. (*Kuchizusami* 373)

This is a reference to a specific journey by yet another ancient ruler, Empress Genshō 元正天皇 (680-748, r. 715-724).¹²⁹ Yoshimoto gives a more complete summary of the story in the closing passage of his diary:

There was in the third year of Reiki [717], during the reign of Empress Genshō, an imperial progress into this province of Mino, and upon looking at what is now known as Yôrô Falls, just based upon the auspiciousness of these falls, they went so far as to change the era name, making the third year of Reiki into the first year of Yôrô before making their return. (*Kuchizusami* 380)

Empress Genshō's journey was in the eleventh month of 717, and some versions of the legend claim that she found relief from illness by drinking from the purifying waters of Yôrô Falls.¹³⁰ In the years immediately following her return, two important documents, the *Nihon shoki* and the *Yôrô ritsuryō* codes, named for the newly designated era name, were compiled.

All of these examples come from a long distant history, and the emperors and empresses named here each played a central part in constructing the foundations of a unified state under the Yamato court.¹³¹ It is important to note, too, that during this time of extreme conflict over the imperial seat, Yoshimoto was not the only one exhibiting interest in the early founders of the state. Kitabatake Chikafusa 北畠親房 (1293-1354), in

¹²⁹ Her father was Kusakabe no Ôji 草壁皇子 and her mother, Empress Genmei 元明天皇. Her brother was Emperor Monmu 文武天皇, also by Genmei. Genshō has seven poems in the *MYS*. Yoshimoto discusses Empress Genshō in more detail in his conclusion to *Solace of Words* (*Kuchizusami* 380).

¹³⁰ This was apparently a spring on Mount Tado 多度山 in Mino province, but references to this name are scarce (*UD*; *KD*).

¹³¹ I am grateful to Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen for pointing this out.

particular, had just completed an encyclopedic record of these very figures, his *Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns* (*Jinnô shôtôki* 神皇正統記), which he wrote in 1339 and revised in 1343, the very same period during which the rivalry was taking place, and roughly contemporaneous to the travel journals that were being written by the elite members of the Northern Court.

As the *Chronicle* shows, Chikafusa is similarly attentive to matters of precedent. He notes, for example that Empress Saimei 齊明天皇 (r. 655-661) represented “the first instance in our country of reaccession to the throne” (Varley 133). Saimei is also known by her title from a previous reign, Empress Kôgyoku 皇極天皇 (r. 642-645). As Kôgyoku, she had stepped down in favor of her younger brother, Emperor Kôtoke 孝徳天皇 (r. 645-655), and at his death, she returned to the throne as Saimei. After considering a few examples of Chinese emperors acceding the throne after having retired, Chikafusa concludes:

Our [Yamato] practice, then, has been different from that of China, perhaps because we place greater emphasis on the dynastic line [*amatsuhitsugi*] than on individual sovereigns. This emphasis was decided upon by the sages of ancient times, who undoubtedly had good reason. (Varley 134)

Here Chikafusa emphasizes the value of familial line as a primary factor in determining the imperial succession. This is an important point, because of Chikafusa’s association with the Southern Court, as a consultant on all matters related to history and court proceedings, including ritual and precedent.¹³² We find that one of the primary arguments

¹³² Chikafusa is a central figure in Conlan’s study of the ritual function of the system of imperial rule in *From Sovereign to Symbol* (2011). Conlan draws a parallel between Chikafusa and Bishop Kenshun, who was a supporter of the Northern Court, and suggests

Chikafusa makes is precisely this bloodline, as reflected in the title itself, the *Chronicle of the Direct Descent of Gods and Sovereigns*. It is this argument that combines a claim to direct descent and a valuation of the imperial regalia that is the foundation for the historical view, starting in the mid eighteenth century, that the Daikaku-ji line of the “Southern Court” was in fact the legitimate one, despite the political success of the Ashikaga bakufu and its Northern Court.

Projecting the Emperor onto the Landscape

Yoshimoto’s observation, while gazing at Mount Moru, that “it is not an especially impressive place” (*Kuchizusami* 367), reveals his apparent skepticism about the value of the famous place in literature. In fact, the text reflects a similar ambivalence in most of the passages that represent travel and famous place names in *Solace of Words* in that the “travel journal” portion of the diary comprises roughly the first third of the text. Yoshimoto seems to waver at each famous name—the fast pace of his travel between famous places is only slowed slightly as he simultaneously expresses his recognition of the place name while also questioning the reasons for their fame. In addition to Mount Moru, he does this at Noji no Shinohara,¹³³ Mount Kagami,¹³⁴ and the area around Mount Toko at Inukami and Isaya River.¹³⁵ Yoshimoto even goes so far as to

that the two are opposing counterparts in the conflict over the imperial seat during the Nanbokuchō period.

¹³³ Noji no Shinohara: “My ears recognized the name as a famous place [*utamakura*], but in truth, this was the first time I had ever set foot in the place” (*Kuchizusami* 367).

¹³⁴ Mount Kagami (Mount Mirror): “I wanted to ‘approach to look,’ but...I passed, leaving it as little more than a sight along the road [*michiyukiburi*]” (*Kuchizusami* 367).

¹³⁵ Mount Toko at Inukami and Isaya River: These places “did not exactly stand out, and so I made no distinction [*omohi wakazu*] of where we were” (*Kuchizusami* 368).

acknowledge the sense of nostalgia that he associates with one famous place, but ultimately disregards it:

The name of the River Fujikawa of the Barrier, too, is full of memories [*natsukashi*], and so we made sure to ask [the locals] about it. Though its name is quite famous, it is in truth nothing more than a small river, and one couldn't tell that it had been flowing for a myriad ages

sate mo naho	Even in this state
shizumanu na wo ya	I would that your name
todomemashi	will ever remain
kakaru fuchise no	just as these pools and shallows have—
Seki no Fujikawa	Fujikawa of the Barrier

Nijô Yoshimoto
(*Kuchizusami* 369)

Yoshimoto expresses doubt over the fame and otherwise positive reputation of all of these famous places, and yet he continues to make note of the name, and compose a poem at each site nonetheless.¹³⁶ In the case of the River Fujikawa of the Barrier, Yoshimoto's poem combines of the place name with the name of a person. Although the name is not explicitly stated, it is clear that Yoshimoto is thinking of Emperor Go-Kôgon. The phrase "even in this state" refers both to Yoshimoto's surprise at the unimposing view that such a long and widely known river makes, as well as his concern over the Emperor and his party having to take refuge in Ojima. Yoshimoto imagines that, despite the reduced circumstances in which they currently find themselves—expelled from the Capital—he looks toward the future in making this wish that his name (*na*) will be remembered for as long as that of Fujikawa has, "for a myriad ages."

¹³⁶ The question of why Yoshimoto would express such ambivalence at each of these sites is particularly important when taking the function of a travel diary into consideration, which is to intone these place names together with the important names of figures (whether people, literary characters, or deities), in order to posit a renewed (or alternate) literary lineage.

This underlying meaning of the River Fujiwaka echoes the more explicit statement about imperial rule that we see in the Mount Kagami passage that comes before Fujikawa. As we have seen in *Souvenirs for the Capital*, Kagami means “mirror,” and so poetry about this mountain invariably makes a play on the trope of mirrors and reflections:

Next, we passed a mountain called Mirror. I wanted to “approach to look,” but my destination was far and I was rushing along, so I passed, leaving it as little more than a sight along the road.

harubaru to
yukusue tôku
Kagamiyama
kakete kumoranu
miyo zo shiraruru

So far, so far,
our destination lies,
Mount Mirror,
I look to your unclouded peak,
and know the long-lived splendor of his reign

Nijô Yoshimoto
(*Kuchizusami* 367)

Like Sôkyû, Yoshimoto sees Mount Mirror but hesitates to look.¹³⁷ Sôkyû avoided it because of the ambivalence he felt toward fame, particularly within the worldview of *mujôkan*, or impermanence, when he abhors the prospect of “making a name for myself in the world.” Yoshimoto’s hesitation seems at first to spring from his sense of urgency—he does not want to waste time on the road, but would prefer instead to hurry along to

¹³⁷ As discussed in *Souvenirs for the Capital* (Chapter 1), the phrase “approach to look” is an allusion to KKS Misc. I, no. 899:

Kagami yama
iza tachiyorite
mite yukamu
toshi henuru mi ha
oi ya shinuru to

Mount Mirror
well, I shall approach and see
whether the passing years
have accumulated
to age this body

poet unknown
(*SNKBZ* 11: 340)

meet his Emperor in Ojima. But, in Yoshimoto's poem, looking is ultimately unnecessary because he already knows what he will see there. His poem reveals that he is holding an image of the Emperor clearly in his mind, and were he to look into this Mirror, he would not see an image of himself, but of Go-Kôgon reflected there instead.

Thus the ambivalence toward famous places that have come down to him through literature is not as simple as an opposition of literary aspirations against official service or duty. Instead, as the passages at Mount Kagami and the River Fujikawa of the Barrier show, Yoshimoto is projecting his thoughts about land and realm onto the landscape through which he passes. Where the convention is to see in famous landmarks the vestiges of other traveler poets of the past, such as Tsurayuki, Yukihiro, or even the literary character, Genji, Yoshimoto exhibits a tendency to ignore that convention in favor of projecting an image of his Emperor onto the landscape.¹³⁸

To do this is to make a direct link between ruler and realm. Chapter 3 will demonstrate that this is a process similar to composing a land-viewing poem (*kunimi uta*), but carried out in reverse. In a land-viewing poem the ruler climbs a mountain and looks out over the land, using the combination of viewing and ritual poetic composition to make a specific claim of authority over the land and subjects. Instead, Yoshimoto positions himself here as the subject, and looks up to the famous landscapes, as if from below, or in a roundabout way, as though he is not really actively looking at all. Regardless of his approach to the landmark, he inevitably sees his ruler in its features.

¹³⁸ Bashô does something similar in *Narrow Road to the Deep North* (*Oku no hosomichi*), by projecting the grace of the sun goddess in his *haiku* during the visit to Nikko as well as the peace over the land as a reflection of Tokugawa Ieyasu's legacy during his visit to Tôshôgû.

Solace of Words imagines and discusses the Emperor as the source of authority that radiates from the imperial center.¹³⁹ Doing this shifts the location of authority from the place to the figure. That is, if the authority is located in the place, that place is the Capital, and so the Emperor draws his legitimacy to rule from his establishment in the imperial palace in the Capital. But if we shift our perspective to locate authority in the figure, or the title, we see that Go-Kôgon is defined by his title “Emperor.” In the latter view, the Emperor projects the concept, or meaning, of “political center” onto whatever place he inhabits, whether this is the Capital, Ojima, or otherwise.

¹³⁹ Conlan (2011) shows that this was a common view of the emperor in this time, particularly in the consideration of his importance as a ritual figure.

Figure for Chapter 3

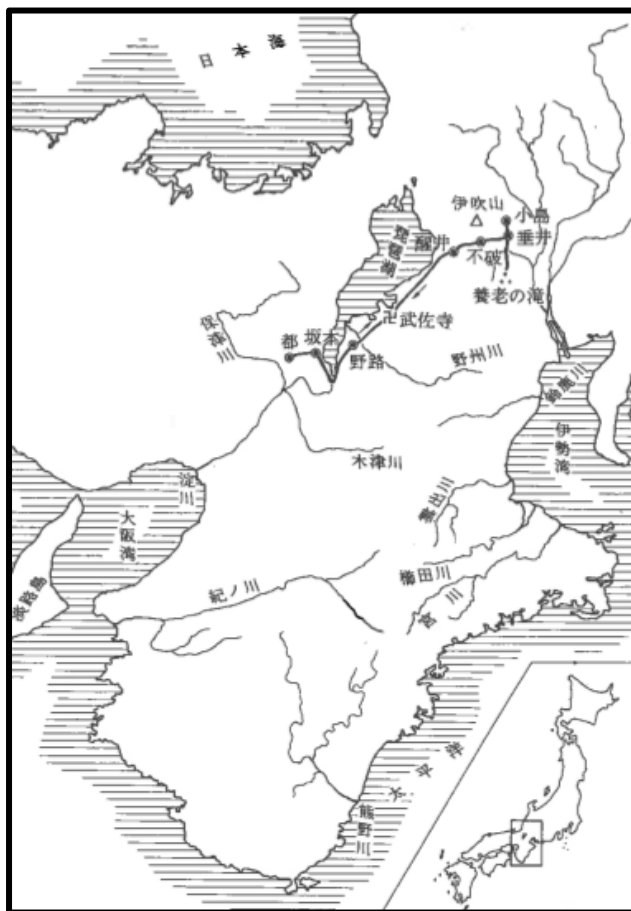


Figure 8: A map of Nijō Yoshimoto's route in *Solace of Words at Ojima* (Fukuda and Plutschow 1975, 82).

Table for Chapter 3

Table 1: Nijō Yoshimoto's Career (二条良基 1320-1388)

Year (age)	Office	Historical context
1329 (9)	Yoshimoto is made provisional middle counselor in the court of Emperor Go-Daigo	Yoshimoto's father, Michihira, had strong connections in Go-Daigo's court; Yoshimoto's half sister was also established as Nyōgo (junior consort) there.
1331 (11)	Yoshimoto resigns from office, in part because Michihira is implicated in Go-Daigo's plot	When Go-Daigo's plot against the Kamakura Bakufu and Hōjō regency fails (Genkō rebellion) he flees to Nara and is later exiled to Oki Island

1333-1336 (13-16)	By 1336, Yoshimoto sides with Ashikaga Takauji; Nijo Morotada, Yoshimoto's grand-uncle and a former regent for Go-Daigo, also casts his lot with Takauji and the Northern Court.	Go-Daigo overthrows Kamakura Bakufu in the Capital with help from Ashikaga Takauji in 1333; Nitta Yoshitada overthrows Hôjô in Kamakura. Michihira returns to office in Go-Daigo court; dies in 1335. Go-Daigo flees to Yoshino with the imperial regalia to establish Southern Court in 1336; Yoshimoto's uncle, Nijô Moromoto, is made regent there. In the Capital, Kômyô is made emperor for the Northern Court in 1336.
1340 (20)	Yoshimoto becomes Palace Minister	
1342 (22)	Acts as tutor to crown prince	
1343 (23)	Promoted to Minister of the Right, but with few family connections (his mother died in 1339; his uncle Morotada 1341)	Minister of the Left at the time, Tôin Kinkata, is a serious rival; Emperor Kôgon orders the <i>Fûgashû</i> .
1346 (26)	Made Regent under Emperor Kômyô; he would hold this post from 1346-58, through the reigns of Emperors Kômyô, Sukô, and Go-Kôgon.	Kômyô court shows affiliations with Kyôgoku school of poetry
1349 (29)	As Regent, Yoshimoto organizes the proceedings in Sukô's coming of age ceremony; Sukô's accession was held at Yoshimoto's mansion	Emperor Kômyô abdicates in favor of Emperor Sukô. Kinkata is named Chancellor; Konoe Michitsugu is named Palace Minister at this time.
1351 (31)	It is written in the <i>Taiheiki</i> (太平記 The Great Peace, ca. 1372) that Yoshimoto accompanied the three retired Emperors to Anô but there is not other evidence of this; Yoshimoto goes to Sumiyoshi to visit Emperor Go-Murakami of the Southern Court	Struggle between Ashikaga Takauji and his brother Ashikaga Tadayoshi, during which Retired Emperors Kôgon, Kômyô, and Sukô were removed to Anô. There is a temporary truce between Takauji and the Southern Court, and apparent attempts at unification. The feud between Takauji and Tadayoshi comes to a head in Kamakura, and Tadayoshi dies of poisoning. Yoshiakira remains in the Capital to defend the imperial palace.
1352	Yoshimoto compiles <i>Go-Fukôon'in-</i>	The Southern Court attacks the Capital;

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---|--|
| (32) | <i>dono onhyakushu</i> (Hundred-poem Sequence of Lord Go-Fukôon'in 1352) for grading by Ton'a, Keiun, and Yoshida Kenkô. | Yoshiakira goes into hiding in Omi Province. The Ashikaga regain the Capital three weeks later. Go-Kôgon is made emperor. |
| 1353
(33) | Yoshimoto accompanies Emperor Go-Kôgon, and at the emperor's request writes about the event in <i>Ojima no kuchizusami</i> (<i>Solace of Words at Ojima</i> 1353). | The Southern Court attacks the Capital; Takauji sends Emperor Go-Kôgon into hiding in Mino Province, under the care of <i>shugo</i> Toki Yoriyasu. Takauji and Yoshiakira rendezvous with the imperial party at Ojima and return to regain control of the Capital. |
| 1354
(34) | Yoshimoto marries a daughter of Toki Yoriyasu (as second wife). | Toki Yoriyasu is appointed as chief retainer to Takauji. |
| 1355
(35) | Upon their return to the Capital, Yoshimoto hosts a <i>renga</i> gathering, <i>Bunna senku</i> (文和千句 <i>Thousand-verse Sequence of the Bunna Era</i> , 1355), for which which Kyusei composed the <i>hokku</i> (opening verse). | The Southern Court attacks the Capital; Takauji goes with Emperor Go-Kôgon into hiding in Omi Province |
| 1356
(36) | Yoshimoto begins compilation of the <i>renga</i> anthology, <i>Tsukubashû</i> . | At Takauji's request, Go-Kôgon orders <i>Shin senzaishû</i> (1359), for which Nijô Tamesada, a poetry teacher to Yoshimoto, is named chief compiler |
| 1357
(37) | Completes <i>Tsukubashû</i> and receives formal recognition when Go-Kôgon names it an imperial collection (<i>chokusenshû</i>). Yoshimoto submits a hundred-poem sequence, <i>Enbun hyakushu</i> for inclusion in the <i>Shin senzaishû</i> . | |
| 1358-
1360
(38-
40) | At Emperor Go-Kôgon's request, Yoshimoto writes a commentary to the <i>Tsukubashû</i> , <i>Gekimôshô</i> (1360). Yoshimoto is obligated to resign as regent in 1359 as a result of his rivalry with Michitsugu. | Ashikaga Takauji dies; his son Yoshiakira becomes shogun. Kujô Tsunenori is appointed Regent in 1359. |
| 1361-
1363 | Yoshimoto begins to study Chinese poetry in earnest, attending lectures | Michitsugu is appointed Regent in 1361. Because of Michitsugu's expertise in |

- (41-43) on the Shijing (Book of Songs) in 1361 by Monk Aichi; begins to attend Chinese poetry gatherings at court by 1363. He also writes his first *karon*, *Gumon kenchu* (1363) Yoshimoto is named Regent a second time in 1363. Chinese poetry, there is an increase in Chinese poetic events in Go-Kôgon's court.
- 1365 (45) Yoshimoto continues his work at mastering new subjects, including the *Genji monogatari* and *Man'yôshû*. He organizes *Hikaru Genji ichibu renga yoriai* (*Links from the Shining Genji* 1365)
- 1366 (46) Yoshimoto hosts two major poetry gatherings sponsored by Yoshiakira: *Nenju gyôji uta-awase* and *Shintamatsushimasha uta-awase*, which are attended by such poets as Sôkyû, Imagawa Ryôshun, and Yototsuji Yoshinari
- 1367 (47) Yoshimoto writes the postscript to Sôkyû's *Miyako no tsuto* (*Souvenirs for the Capital*). Ashikaga Yoshiakira pressures Yoshimoto to resign as Regent; Yoshimoto promotes his son Moroyoshi as Regent. Yoshiakira steps down; dies several days later of illness. Yoshimitsu becomes Shogun at nine years old, assisted by Hosokawa Yoriyuki.
- 1369 (49) Yoshimoto's son, Moroyoshi becomes Regent
- 1372-1380 (52-60) Yoshimoto writes *rengaron*, *Tsukuba mondô* by 1372. He also writes and revises *Ôan shinshiki* (*New Rules for Renga*, 1373-74), *Chirensô* (1374), *Eiwa daijôeki* (1375), *Man'yô shi* (1375), *Kyushu mondô* (1376), *Masukagami* (attrib. 1376) and other works during this time. Moroyoshi falls to mental illness. *Shin goshûishû* has been ordered by Go-En'yû in at the request Yoshimitsu; *Eiwa hyakushu* (1375-78) is held to create material for it.
- 1381 Yoshimoto is named Chancellor

- (61) under shogun Yoshimitsu
- 1382 After son Moroyoshi's death in
(62) 1382, Yoshimoto is named Regent
for the third time by Go-Komatsu
- 1383 Writes *Jûmon saihishô* (十問最秘抄
(63) Most Secret Treatise on Ten
Questions, 1383).
- 1384 Writes the preface to *Shin goshûishû*
(64)
- 1385 Yoshimoto composes *Ishiyama*
(65) *hyakuin* with disciples Shua, Bontô,
and others

Chapter 4

Ashikaga Yoshiakira's *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi*:

Pilgrimage and the Project of Looking at the Land

A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi (*Sumiyoshi môde* 住吉詣) is a short travel journal, with only fifteen poems, and very brief prose passages (*kotobagaki*) throughout. It describes a journey in 1364 to the Sumiyoshi Shrine 住吉社 in Settsu province, on what is now the Osaka Bay. The journal has traditionally been attributed to the second Ashikaga shogun, Yoshiakira 足利義詮 (1330-1367, r. 1358-1367). After traveling to Settsu, stopping at famous places along the way, Yoshiakira approaches the shrine itself, makes his prayers, and then goes on to observe the scenery of the surrounding area:

I went on to present myself before the god of Sumiyoshi, and I
prayed to the gods of the four shrines of Sumiyoshi.

yomo no umi	Deep as the ocean
fukaki chikai ya	in the four directions is their vow!
hi no moto no	That the people of the sun source
tami mo yutaka ni	may live in prosperity through
Sumiyoshi no kami	the grace of the gods of Sumiyoshi

Yoshiakira

It has been passed down since times long ago that this god is a great protector of those who are deeply devoted to the Way of Poetry [*uta no michi*]. If a person who aspires to excellent poetry makes a pilgrimage to this deity and recites his vow, he will surely find success in that Way, so it is said.

kamiyo yori	From the age of the gods
tsutaetsutauru	passed down and down again

Shikishima no	how distant and remote
michi ni <i>kokoro</i> mo	is the heart of
utoku mo aru kana	the Way of the Myriad Islands!

Yoshiakira

We then went down to the coast, and walked to stand in the shade of the pine trees, and looked, remembering the poem of [Ariwara no Narihira]. And so it seemed that, truly, the geese were crying and the chrysanthemums were in full bloom.

Sumiyoshi no	Like the white waves
kishi ni yoru tefu	drawn to the shores
shiranami no	of Sumiyoshi,
shirazu mukashi wo	shall I ask the pines about
matsu ni tofuran	a past beyond knowing?

Yoshiakira
(GR 555)

This passage is in effect the climax of the travel journal. It describes the moment when Yoshiakira reaches the Sumiyoshi Shrine and makes his prayers before the gods there. I will analyze each of these sections in further detail below, but on first glance it is clear that together, the poems reflect the stated intentions of the journey and the journal alike. The first poem (*shihô no umi*) expresses Yoshiakira's approach to this pilgrimage in an official capacity, as he holds in his mind the connections between god, ruler, subject, and land. In the second poem (*kamiyo yori*), his overtly stated motivation for making the pilgrimage is to pray to the Sumiyoshi deity to bolster his skill in poetic composition. His awareness of the long history of poetic composition and appreciation in the classical literary practice of the imperial court, introduced in the second poem, becomes the focus of the third poem (*Sumiyoshi no*). Ariwara no Narihira is a famous poet and traveler of the early Heian period, and one of Narihira's most famous poems treats the geese, chrysanthemums, and pine trees of the coast at Sumiyoshi.

The text constructs a complex figure of Yoahiakira through poem, prose explanations, and literary reference. The Yoshiakira that we see in the pages of this journal is conscious of the various roles he has within his reach, whether it is a role that he is expected to perform according to family lineage or social conventions, or whether it is a role with which he is striving to associate himself more closely. He is at times pilgrim, poet, reader, and shogun, and these overlapping roles are combined into the larger category of “traveler” as represented in the lines of a travel journal text. The mode of writing that is characteristic of the travel journal genre, and in particular a pilgrimage (*môde* 詣), is an ideal vehicle in which to combine and represent these roles. First, it taps into the access to history, lineage construction, and political authority that is provided by travel to famous places and composing poetry there, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation. Then it combines with that complex mode of the poetic travel journal the additional functions of sacralizing geographic space by treating the journey overtly as a pilgrimage, as well as claiming the land as a political unit by looking with purpose. In short, *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* deals with the question of investing geographic space with sacred power through pilgrimage, accessing and asserting proficiency in the elite literary culture of the imperial court, and claiming political authority over the land by looking at it.

Attribution of the Text

However, there have been questions about the legitimacy of this attribution of the diary to Yoshiakira. There are various theories: Iwahashi Koyata (1941) argues that Yoshiakira could not have made this particular journey, and that the journal is by

someone else altogether. Herbert Plutschow (1982) speculates that Yoshiakira composed the poems, and that the journal is a compilation of Yoshiakira's poetry into a form following the travel journal format (66). Others suggest that it is by a member of Yoshiakira's party laboring under the name of Yoshiakira in his honor.

Iwahashi's argues that it would have been unlikely for Yoshiakira to travel to Sumiyoshi in 1364 for a number of reasons. First, as an Ashikaga shogun, Yoshiakira was aligned with Emperor Go-Kôgon and the Northern Court that had been established in the Capital.¹⁴⁰ Because the emperors of the rival Southern Court were frequenting Sumiyoshi and its surrounding area at this time, it is perhaps unlikely that Yoshiakira would travel so near his enemies for any reason besides engaging them in battle. Iwahashi also points out that there is no mention of a visit to the Sumiyoshi Shrine in the *Records of Office and Rank of the Ashikaga House* (*Ashikagake kan'i ki* 足利家官位記),¹⁴¹ even as it records Yoshiakira's visits to other shrines during that time, including Iwashimizu, Kasuga, and Hiyoshi shrines.

Iwahashi then goes on to discuss stylistic factors of *Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* to suggest that it is either incomplete or questionable as a historical record of a journey by Yoshiakira. For one, the titling is inconsistent with practices of recording a journey, especially one including a figure so important as an Ashikaga shogun. And while famous

¹⁴⁰ The Capital, or Heian-kyô, what is now Kyoto. The roughly contemporaneous travel journal, *Solace of Words at Ojima*, describes a period when Emperor Go-Kôgon and Ashikaga Takauji combine forces against the so-called Southern Court of the rival Emperor Go-Daigo in order to establish their Northern Court more firmly in the political center, which was the location of the imperial palace. See Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

¹⁴¹ Author and dates unknown, cited in Iwahashi. The text is published in the *Gunsho ruijû*. It records biographical details about the Ashikaga shoguns from the first, Takauji (1305-1358), through the fifteenth, Yoshiaki (1537-1597) (*KD*).

places (*meisho* and *utamakura*) are named, it lacks many of the characteristic passages of a travel journal, such as an introductory passage similar to that in Sôkyû's *Souvenirs for the Capital* or Nijô Yoshimoto's *Solace of Words at Ojima*. Finally, Iwahashi points out that there is no way that anyone could have seen smoke from the salt fires of Suma while standing on the shore at Sumiyoshi, even when there is a line about that in the diary. As the analyses of *Souvenirs* and *Solace of Words* has shown, such seeming inconsistencies in representing the geography are not so much a sign of their inaccuracy or their fabrication, but instead are a result of the poet-traveler's construction of a historical and literary ideology within the landscapes that he describes.

Kaji Hiroe (1997) has argued that the attribution to Yoshiakira is possible, even probable. Whereas Iwahashi and others have based their analysis on the *Gunsho ruijû* edition, Kaji makes a comparative analysis of other editions of the text to show that an outright denial of Yoshiakira as the author is premature. For example, Kaji shows that the date of the pilgrimage is not firmly established as the fourth month of 1364, which means that Yoshiakira would in fact have been able to make the journey despite being engaged in other activities elsewhere at the time. Kaji concludes that even if there is scant evidence that Yoshiakira was indeed the author, we must not rule him out entirely.

In some ways, the attribution persists simply because of the lack of evidence pointing to another more likely author. But for centuries after its production, the diary was generally received and read as Yoshiakira's. For example, Yoshiakira's name and seal are assigned to the text of *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* in a 1923 edition of *Gunsho ruijû*, indicating the traditional attribution (555).

Unlike *Solace of Words at Ojima*, which discusses the people and historical events of the period described, *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* makes no mention of such contemporaneous details. In this respect, it is more akin to the preconception of a characteristic travel journal, in that it constructs the image of a solitary traveler who is removed from the current affairs of the mundane world. However, there is one moment in which the reader catches a glimpse of the historical context of the Northern and Southern Courts at odds with each other:

I looked far out over the expanse of the ocean, and to the west was Awaji Island, Suma, Akashi bay, and other such places. I considered taking the boat to go over and look, but of course, taking into account people's fears as a result of the conflicts in this world, I did not. Instead, we would spend one night and return to the Capital at dawn.

Awaji kata	Toward Awaji
kasumi wo wakete	parting the mists
yukufune no	the sailing ship
tayori mo shiranu	its ultimate destination unknown
nami no uhe kana	going over the waves

Yoshiakira
GR 555

The phrase, “conflicts in this world” is a direct reference to the political situation of the time, in which Yoshiakira was commanding armies to fight against those of the Southern Court. Further, it has been well documented that both Emperor Go-Daigo and his son and successor, Emperor Go-Murakami 後村上天皇 (1328-1368, r. 1339-1368), with their court in Yoshino, would travel to the areas around Sumiyoshi, as well as Suma, Akashi, and Awaji Island, and spend months at a time at local temples.¹⁴² In this period of conflict

¹⁴² Specifically, Go-Murakami moved the court from Yoshino to other locations, including Anô 賀名生 in present day Nara Prefecture, Mount Otoko 男山 in present day Kyoto Prefecture, and Kanshin-ji Temple 観心寺 in Kawachi province. Note that Mount

between the Northern and Southern Courts, Emperor Go-Murakami stayed at a “Sumiyoshi Palace” (*Sumiyoshi-den* 住吉殿) for about nine years, until 1368.¹⁴³ Emperor Chōkei 長慶天皇 (1343-1394, r. 1368-1383), Go-Murakami’s first son and successor to the throne of the Southern Court, also made pilgrimages to Sumiyoshi (*KD*).

By acknowledging the anxieties over travel in this particular region during a time of conflict, and by presenting a Yoshiakira who made the decision not to wander too near his political rivals, the text, which presents an otherwise self-contained world of the pilgrimage, allows an awareness of the current political uncertainty to arise for the space of a single poem. This turns out to serve the specific purpose of applying that political context to the accompanying waka.

Considering all of the above, I will treat the diary as Yoshiakira’s in the present study, remaining mindful of the constructed nature of the text as a representation of a pilgrimage, itself an idealized and stylized form of travel. In fact, the unresolved questions about the authorship of *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* support a more focused analysis of this very idea of the “traveler” as a constructed persona. We can then consider how the figure of Yoshiakira is constructed in the words of the text, not only as a traveler, but also as a pilgrim, a poet, a consumer of and participant in court culture, and a shōgun. These various and simultaneous roles become more transparent to the reader

Otoko is also the location of the Iwashimizu Hachiman-gū Shrine 石清水八幡宮, to which Yoshiakira dedicates a poem at the beginning of *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi*.

¹⁴³ Even when Go-Murakami was not temporarily residing there in a temporary palace, there are still occasions that he would travel there. For example, on the 26th of the second month of Shōhei 7 (12.03.1352), Go-Murakami left Anō and traveled to Sumiyoshi, staying for about half of the month. He then traveled to other parts of the region, returning to Anō around the fifth month of that year (07.1352), whereupon he continued military attacks on the Northern Court. Because Yoshiakira ostensibly visited Sumiyoshi in 1364, he was surely aware of Go-Murakami’s connection to the area.

precisely because the identity of the author has been put into question, and so the text has conveniently been separated from assumptions about representing a historical “truth,” or a “man behind the words,” so to speak.

Pilgrimage and the Sumiyoshi Shrine

Read in this way, *Sumiyoshi* becomes a portrait of an idealized character of Yoshiakira as a traveling poet, shogun, and pilgrim on an idealized journey. The journal becomes a record of his pilgrimage to the Sumiyoshi Shrine in the fourth month of 1364, which he undertook in order to petition one of the celebrated gods of poetry for support in his own pursuit of the Way of Poetry.

I went on to present myself before the god of Sumiyoshi, and I
prayed to the gods of the four shrines of Sumiyoshi.

yomo no umi	Deep as the ocean
fukaki chikai ya	in the four directions is their vow!
hi no moto no	That the people of the sun source
tami mo yutaka ni	may live in prosperity through
Sumiyoshi no kami	the grace of the gods of Sumiyoshi

Yoshiakira
GR 555

The language of the prose passage (*kotobagaki*) that introduces the poem makes it clear that the traveler Yoshiakira presents himself as a pilgrim who has reached his destination. In the awesome presence of the gods of Sumiyoshi, we imagine him as just one among those mortal “people of Japan” (*Hinomoto no tami*). In that respect, the poem becomes a prayer in no uncertain terms. Yet another reading suggests that Yoshiakira is set apart from this notion of a “people of Japan” in the sense that they are the polity over whom he watches as a protector and a ruler.

The Sumiyoshi Shrine has been an important sacred site and pilgrimage destination throughout the entire history of its name, written records of which begin with a deity that was called Suminoe-no-kami 住江神 from the time of Emperor Nintoku 仁徳天皇 (early 5th c.). The name Suminoe appears frequently in the *Man'yôshû*, while the name Sumiyoshi begins to appear in the *Kokinshû* and then eventually replaces Suminoe altogether by the late Heian period. In addition to being an ancient version of the name Sumiyoshi, there are speculations that Suminoe had been the name of the body of water where the river empties into the bay, while Sumiyoshi referred to the land itself. There are also many cases in which the name Sumiyoshi is used to identify a larger area, and then a smaller place name is used to point to a more specific location. Even the variety of distinct *utamakura* designations within poetic practice speaks to a broad area and wide range of landmarks associated with the name Sumiyoshi.¹⁴⁴

In the *Tales of Ise* 68, “Sumiyoshi Beach,” Ariwara no Narihira goes to various places in the area around Sumiyoshi, and then finally, after spending several hours at the beach there, composes the poem:

kari nakite	Even with its crying geese
kiku no hana saku	and blooming chrysanthemums,
aki ha aredo	there is autumn, yes,
haru no umibe ni	how good is life along the sea
Sumiyoshi no hama	on Sumiyoshi Beach at springtime

Ariwara no Narihira
(*SNKBZ* 12: 172)

¹⁴⁴ These include its coast (*kishi* 岸), bay (*ura* 浦), beach (*hama* 浜), pines (*matsu* 松), gardens (*niwa* 庭), fisherfolk (*ama* 海人), and village (*sato* 里), among others (*UCD*).

Its fame as a poetic place name is not just because of the beautiful scenery, although the variety of places in the area that are treated in poetry speaks to the power with which its various landscapes have moved centuries of travelers to the area. By the Heian period, there is a range of deities enshrined at Sumiyoshi. In addition to the gods of poetry (*kashin* 歌神) and of warfare (*gunshin* 軍神), there was also a god of sea travel that played an important role in Sumiyoshi's traditional function as an important port, particularly for early travel to the Korean peninsula.

The shrine was often an important stop on pilgrimages to Mount Kôya or Kumano, and there are instances of visitors using the yellow ochre from the shore to dye traveling robes (*Kodai chimei daijiten*). The earliest known example of a pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi Shrine was taken in the 10th month of the first year of Shôtai (15.11.898) by Emperor Uda 宇多天皇 (867-931).¹⁴⁵ It was also a common practice to hold poetry gatherings in front of the main building of the shrine, as in the celebrated *Sumiyoshi-sha utaawase* 住吉社歌合, a poetry contest in which Shunzei acted as judge, and Minamoto no Yorimasa 源頼政 (late Heian) and Priest Shun'e 俊恵法師 (b. 1113) were among the poets. It is a family shrine of Murasaki Shikibu, and on one visit to the shrine, she is said to have found inspiration for the character of the Akashi Lady, as well as the contents of

¹⁴⁵ This pilgrimage is recorded in a historical record of the late Heian, the *Fusô ryakki* 扶桑略記. Other famous pilgrims to Sumiyoshi include Emperor Tenmu (r. 673-686); Emperor Daigo (r. 897-930); the mother of Emperor Ichijô, Fujiwara Senshi (962-1002) in 1000; the second empress of Ichijô and patron of Murasaki Shikibu, Fujiwara no Sôshi (988-1074); Fujiwara Michinaga (966-1027) in 1003; and Michinaga's wife in 1031 (*Kodai chimei daijiten*).

the “Akashi” chapter of her *Tale of Genji*.¹⁴⁶ Yoshiakira would have also been conscious of the pilgrimages to Sumiyoshi described in the *Tale of Genji*, which was such a famous text among such medieval poets as Shunzei, Teika, and of course Nijô Yoshimoto.

The main hall of the Sumiyoshi Shrine was built directly on the shore of what is now the Osaka Bay, facing west, toward the ocean. There are four additional halls, each of them built in the same architectural style, and positioned in line to the south and behind the main hall.¹⁴⁷ Each hall is dedicated to a different deity. Of these, three are three male deities of the sea, the gods of the lowest, middle, and surface of the sea, respectively.¹⁴⁸ The other two deities are *kami* who manifested as mortal imperial figures of the third and fourth centuries: Emperor Ôjin, who is deified as Hachiman, a god of war and patron of the Minamoto clan; and Ôjin’s mother, Empress Jingû, who is enshrined in

¹⁴⁶ Murasaki Shikibu purportedly got her idea for the plot of the *Tale of Genji* when she was on a seven-day retreat at Ishiyama-dera temple on Lake Biwa. The idea came to her as a vision of Kannon over the lake on the night of the full moon of the eighth lunar month in the year 1004 (the famous “harvest moon” that we see in Nijô Yoshimoto’s *Solace of Words at Ojima*; see Chapter 2 of this dissertation). This story is recorded in the “Origins of Ishiyama-dera” (*Ishiyamadera engi* 石山寺縁起). The story that she thought of at the time would become the Suma chapter, which also features the famous full moon of early autumn.

¹⁴⁷ While the shrine’s location has not changed, it is farther inland now because of land reclamation projects in the area. This architectural style is called the “Sumiyoshi-construction” (住吉造). Beginning at least in the early Heian period, the main shrine of Sumiyoshi (*shaden* 社殿) was constructed every twenty years, a practice which was continued until around the middle of the Muromachi period. After that, repairs and reconstruction was only carried out as necessary to maintain the building. The present structure of Sumiyoshi Shrine is a reconstruction carried out in 1810.

¹⁴⁸ These gods are typically named together, and sometimes as a single unit, as in the “triple sea deity” (*sanjin* 三神). These deities were originally housed at other Sumiyoshi Shrines located throughout Japan, including a Sumiyoshi Shrine in Kyushu and western Honshu, which are devoted only to the sea deities and in fact predated the famous one in Settsu province.

the main shrine of Sumiyoshi.¹⁴⁹ In addition to this, Sotoori-hime became associated with Sumiyoshi through the poetry of Tsumori no Kunimoto 津守国基 (1926-1102), a priest there.¹⁵⁰ Kunimoto is said to have changed the fourth sanctuary so that it would enshrine Sotoori-hime, and named it the deity of Tamatsushima (*Tamatsushima myôjin* 玉津島明神). This is the story that gave the Sumiyoshi Shrine its reputation as housing a god of poetry.

At the shrine in Settsu province, the locus of Yoshiakira's *Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi*, the main shrine is dedicated to a god of poetry. Precisely which "god of poetry" remains fluid, and ranges from Hitomaro to Sotoori-hime, depending on the record in question. Suffice it to say that the god is associated with poetic practice, and by Yoshiakira's time, it is the name "Sumiyoshi" that had become synonymous with the god of poetry that was enshrined there. The moment in which he approaches the main shrine of Sumiyoshi is described thus:

It has been passed down since times long ago that this god is a great protector of those who are deeply devoted to the Way of Poetry [*uta no michi*]. If a person who aspires to excellent poetry makes a pilgrimage to this deity and recites his vow, he will surely find success in that Way, so it is said.

kamiyo yori	From the age of the gods
tsutaetsutauru	passed down and down again
Shikishima no	how distant and remote
michi ni <i>kokoro</i> mo	is the heart of
utoku mo aru kana	the Way of the Myriad Islands!

Yoshiakira
(GR 555)

¹⁴⁹ See below for a discussion of their historical context in conjunction with *kunimi* (land-viewing) poetry.

¹⁵⁰ Sotoori-hime appears in the Kana Preface (*kanajo*) and poem number 1110 of the *Kokinshû*, as well as *Nihon shoki* I: 440-44 (Aston, p. 318-21) and the *Man'yôshû*.

The poem uses one of the names for Japan, “Shikishima,” together with the formal phrase for poetic composition as a praxis, or an expedient means (*hōben*), “Way [of Poetry]” ([*uta no*] *michi*). This combination of ideal concepts of land and poetry explicitly connects his own endeavor, making a pilgrimage to the Sumiyoshi Shrine, to the geography as part of a greater political unit. This is reinforced in the prose passage by the phrase, “a person who aspires to excellent poetry” (*shūka wo konomu hito* 秀歌を好む人) (GR 555). The verb *konomu* 好む “to prefer, to aspire to,” appears to be related to *suki* 好き, a relatively recent poetic term that was used to present poetic composition as a spiritual practice. Rajyashree Pandey (1992) shows that by the Kamakura period *suki* had come to signify a person who is deeply devoted to the study and practice of poetry, and therefore to Buddhist practice. Kamo no Chōmei, for example, uses the term “to integrate his deep attachment to artistic pursuits with his commitment to the way of the Buddha” (300).

Further, the first phrase of the poem (*kamiyo yori*) ties the imperial succession and right to political rule to the oldest age of the gods, the age of the *Man'yōshū* and the *Kojiki*. In a way that recalls Nijō Yoshimoto’s *Solace of Words at Ojima*, or if anything, even more explicitly, *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* focuses on the idea of lineage, as something that is passed down from the age of the gods.

The title and diction of *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* emphasizes the notion of “pilgrimage,” and so explicitly identifies the journal as a religious act. The word “pilgrimage,” or *mōde* comes from the honorific verb meaning “to go” (*mōzu* 詣づ or 参

づ).¹⁵¹ It comes from the compound verb *maiizu* 参出づ, which combines the honorific marker *mairu* 参る with the verb “to set out” or “to depart” (*izu* 出づ). The term *môzu* works from the speaker’s point of view to show that the object of one’s movement, that is, the place to which the speaker goes, is highly revered. And so the word is used to discuss going before a sacred or revered presence such as an emperor, or a god or Buddha.

Alan Morinis has shown that the pilgrimage destination is “an intensified version of some ideal that the pilgrim values but cannot achieve at home” (4). The god of Sumiyoshi, as a god of poetry, embodies the cultural ideals of poetic composition as a means of enlightenment, as a tool for interrelation both among humans and between morals and gods, and as an art form that is unique to the people of Japan. All three of these cultural ideals are represented in the two poems that Yoshiakira composes at the shrine itself (*kamiyo yori* and *shihô no umi*). But as Morinis points out, the pilgrimage is defined not only by the ideals themselves, which tend to be fixed in a specific geographic location, but by the desire for and pursuit of that cultural ideal, represented in the movement of the pilgrim (3). The language of *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* explicitly highlights the formal religious and spiritual aspects of Yoshiakira’s journey by calling it a pilgrimage—not just in the title, but in the verbs for going to the shrine, appearing before the god, and even departing from its sacred presence. This in effect emphasizes the ideals for excellent poetic composition that the deity embodies. It also highlights the traveler’s

¹⁵¹ In early texts, the two characters 参 and 詣 both indicated the honorific of the motion verbs “to go” or “to come.” Its use signals an awareness of distinctions in rank and social class as well as a way to designate the sacred. Both uses appear as early as the eighth century, in the *Nihon shoki* (NKD). The two characters together form the compound noun “pilgrimage” (*sankei* 参詣) in Modern Japanese.

aspirations for that ideal, as a pilgrim motivated by the desire and belief in the god as a source of those ideals.

On the Shogun as a Skilled Poet

There are other important reasons for Yoshiakira to make a pilgrimage to the Sumiyoshi Shrine, however. There is his father, Ashikaga Takauji, who made a pilgrimage there in the ninth month of 1336. He had made this journey after working successfully to orchestrate the transition from Emperor Go-Daigo to Emperor Kômyô, of the Jimyô-in line, in 1336.8.15.¹⁵² He made this trip together with his younger brother, Ashikaga Tadayoshi 足利直義. They dedicated poems as prayers for improving their poetic skill, and they also held poetry events before the shrine, and made poetic dedications to pray for political and military success (Kaji 35; Hosaka 302).

The scholarly attention to the attribution of *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi*, however, is as reflective of common conceptions about “warriors” and “poets” as of actual historical uncertainty. Donald Keene encapsulates this sentiment in the opening of his 1989 description of the journal:

Nothing I know about Ashikaga Yoshiakira...suggests that he had a poetic disposition. He spent most of his life actively engaged in warfare...and died at the age of thirty-seven while still fighting the Southern Court forces. It is hard to imagine when he could have acquired a knowledge of traditional Japanese culture. A European general of the same period who was so involved in warfare throughout his life would probably not have been able to write much more than his name, but if we can accept the usual attribution, Yoshiakira wrote *Sumiyoshi Môde*, describing in language identical to that of the most polished courtiers and

¹⁵² Emperor Kômyô 光明天皇 (1322-1380) was the second emperor of the Northern court during the Nanbokuchô era, although he was the first emperor to be fully backed by Ashikaga power, namely, Takauji. Kômyô reigned from 1336.8.15 until 1348.11.18.

with a suitable admixture of *waka*, his journey to the Shrine of Sumiyoshi (191).

Keene goes on to suggest that the questions over authorship come down to the fact that “the motivation for the journey—to ask the god of Sumiyoshi for assistance in the art of poetry—is so atypical of the fierce Yoshiakira of history” (192). Simply put, according to this passage, the image of Ashikaga Yoshiakira as a member of the military class lies in contradiction to that of a man who would write a poetic travel diary, much less exhibit knowledge of the traditions of a court culture passed down from the Heian period. This is an essentialized view of warriors and courtiers as two incompatible social classes that has not yet been addressed in the scholarship on travel writing.¹⁵³ However, the view of distinct divisions between classes, and particularly between courtiers and warriors has become much more nuanced in the literary and historical scholarship of the last few decades, which has done much to shed light on the subtleties that existed for participants in the political realm, whether those people fell into the larger groups of “warrior” or “courtier,” during the Kamakura and Muromachi periods.

This is by no means to suggest that the categories of warrior and courtier are obsolete. *Solace of Words at Ojima* shows that Nijō Yoshimoto was very much attuned to similar labels, including a range of terms for “warrior” (*mononofu* 武士 or *ebisu* 戎), and for “courtier” (*tenjōbito* 殿上人, *miyabito* 宮人, *uebito* 上人, or *kugyō* 公卿). These were

¹⁵³ This is even further complicated by such examples as the *Fuji Viewing* journals, which show that the shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori very likely ordered his subjects to write records of their journey to Mount Fuji, rather than writing one himself. Regardless of this, we see that Yoshinori did in fact compose several poems on the journey, many of which are recorded in the diaries. So even in the case of Yoshinori, who is considered a lesser poet in comparison to his ancestors, participation in poetic culture was a part of daily life, and expected of those in leadership.

distinguishable in most cases by an individual's outward appearance, such as clothing and headgear, or by formal titles, such as rank and office. To read Yoshimoto's diary is in many ways to see members of two distinct cultures interacting with each other. Perhaps Yoshimoto felt compelled to emphasize these distinctions between "warrior" and "courtier" because he saw the subtle and fragile balance of political power between Emperor Go-Kôgon and the shogun Ashikaga Takauji. As much as Takauji needed the emperor as a legitimizing figure to allow him access to the imperial palace in the capital, Yoshimoto nonetheless realized how dependent the emperor and his courtiers were on the military strength of Takauji's men. Regardless, Yoshimoto maintained this distinction between the two groups, and the inclusion of names and titles, as well as detailed descriptions of clothing and behavior is a defining element of *Solace of Words*.

As the number of terms for people of each group demonstrates, it is misleading to presume that these roles and definitions were either homogenous or fixed indefinitely. Even the locals who were unrelated to the courtier or warrior groups defied identification by a single term.¹⁵⁴ Nonetheless, in Yoshimoto's world, an individual's identification with one or the other—courtier or warrior—apparently played an important part in navigating interactions through precedent, speech, behavior, and activity. Again, *Solace*

¹⁵⁴ Along the road, they encountered people from the countryside (*inakabito* 田舎人), from the mountains (*yamabito* 山人), "mountain peasants" (*yamagatsu* 山賤) and "woodcutters" (*sibafuru hito* 柴振る人), for example (*Kuchizusami* 370, 377, and 379). Interactions between courtier (*dôjô* 堂上) and commoner (*jige* 地下) were not unheard of, even in the earliest years of renga practice in the late Kamakura period. This explains the commoners who approach Yoshimoto with pages of their poems for correction, even though Yoshimoto is more comfortable refusing these people than Takauji.

of Words shows that the courtiers donned the clothing of the warrior class when it was sensible or convenient for them to do so.

A heavy rain started to fall in the night, and by the morning of the next day, it showed even fewer signs of letting up. I wondered how the Emperor would set out in this weather, but the Kamakura General [Yoshiakira] had already gone out ahead, and so we, too, set out. That day, everyone joined the procession in military dress. In the evening, the royal party entered and stayed at a temple called Binman-ji.
(*Kuchizusami* 379)

Even in the narrative of *Solace of Words*, Yoshimoto, a high-ranking courtier of aristocratic lineage and conservative historian of court precedent, describes this in a spirit of excitement and anticipation rather than uncertainty or distaste. This is because becoming a “warrior,” if only in appearance, was the most practical route for achieving success in that particular case. This is most obvious on the level of dressing practically for travel through difficult terrain in inclement weather. But the metaphor holds upon consideration that by dressing in *ebisu* clothing—that is, by discarding the outward appearance of a courtier in favor of that of a warrior—Yoshimoto and his peers were signaling their social acceptance of this social group that had consistently been associated with “outsider” status, even if only temporarily. To take it a step farther, it demonstrates to Takauji not only the willingness, but also a more active desire of these courtiers to be identified as part of a warrior class, and specifically, part of Takauji’s military. This is because it was clear to Yoshimoto and the other court aristocrats that Takauji and his army presented the clearest and most successful path back to the Capital, the imperial palace, and to political dominance.

By the same token, it is clear that members of a warrior class were highly motivated to adopt social and cultural markers that were associated with the imperial

court. Yoshimoto addresses this to some extent in *Solace of Words*, by referring to Ashikaga Takauji as both “Shogun” and “Kamakura Major Counselor,” and to Yoshiakira as the “Kamakura Middle General.”¹⁵⁵ By using their office titles in addition to their military ranks, Yoshimoto recognizes their official function in the imperial court system, and therefore their identity as members of the court society. There is even one moment in which Ashikaga and Yoshiakira rise even higher in Yoshimoto’s eyes. This is when Emperor Go-Kôgon and his party, together with the military support of the Ashikaga, make their triumphant return to the Capital and the imperial palace:

On this day, the Tôin Middle Counselor came from the Capital to meet our party, and he too joined the people in procession. The officers of the imperial Bodyguards, too—Lords Masatomo, Sanetoki, Takasato, and Takaie—came to meet us in court dress, and attended to the left and right of the Emperor’s palanquin.¹⁵⁶ The second-ranking officers, in full armor, surrounded the rear of the palanquin. Lord Yoshiakira, in partial armor, led the advance guard, while Lord Takauji, also in partial armor, brought up the rear. There were as many as twenty to thirty thousand mounted warriors in the ranks, and I heard that their procession continued for about two days. Soon thereafter, the Emperor was restored to his former court. (Kuchizusami 380)

Morinis shows that instances of travel as a group “often take the form of processions, which transform movement from a functional, physiological act into a cultural performance” (15). As such, it becomes even more important to note the key figures here, and so Yoshimoto lists several names of important supporters as they travel back to the Capital as a large group and inevitably drive the Southern Court forces out of the city and reclaim the imperial palace. It is at this moment of success when Yoshimoto bestows

¹⁵⁵ Takauji is referred to as the *shôgun* 将軍 and as the Kamakura Major Counselor (*Kamakura daïagon* 鎌倉大納言) (*Kuchizusami* 375). Yoshiakira is the Kamakura Middle General (*Kamakura no saishô chujô* 鎌倉の宰相中将) (*Kuchizusami* 379).

¹⁵⁶ Fujiwara Masatomo, Fujiwara Sanetoki, Fujiwara Takasato, and Fujiwara Takaie.

another honor upon Takauji and Yoshiakira as well, naming them with the epithets of the court, rather than their military titles.¹⁵⁷

Despite this, Yoshimoto looks at the warriors as a different social group. This is reflected in the relative complexity with which he names other court aristocrats in comparison to the men of Takauji's ranks. This is also visible in the novelty with which he describes the courtiers wearing "warrior clothing" (*ebisu koromo* 戎衣), and care to point out when the courtiers wear their usual "court dress" (*chôji* 朝衣). Even his description of the awe-inspiring beauty of the ranks of warriors in their various suits of armor is full of admiration, but to the extent of exoticizing them as an object to be seen.

Nonetheless, Takauji took advantage of his access to the highest members of the imperial court structure, and makes a display of wealth to Emperor Go-Kôgon. In addition to this, Takauji also approached Yoshimoto with some poetry that he had composed while on the road.

On the 5th of that month, ten horses were presented as tribute to the Emperor. In addition, they also presented prize horses to the high officials, and so the gifts gave the distinct feeling of the Shogun's [Takauji's] resourcefulness as a politician. He also asked me to evaluate his poems, which he composed on the road during the previous full moon. I hesitated, having received no formal license in this. But it was hard to refuse him, and so I proceeded, very cautiously indeed, to lay ink on his paper. (*Kuchizusami* 376)

As influential, and it seems intimidating, as he may have been, Takauji also realized that honing his skills as a poet offered a way for him to participate more actively in the culture of the imperial Court, allowing greater integration into its society and greater influence over its members, including the young Emperor Go-Kôgon and his Regent,

¹⁵⁷ The exact phrases Yoshimoto uses here are Takauji-*kyô* (尊氏卿) and Yoshiakira-*asomi* (義詮朝臣), each an honorific form of address.

Yoshimoto. And no doubt he also saw in Yoshimoto the potential for an illustrious teacher as well as powerful political connection.

What is more, the passage above shows that Takauji had composed his poems on the 15th night of the eighth lunar month. This is the night of a harvest festival in which the full moon carries great significance, a night that Yoshimoto and his companions on the road also observed by composing poetry. Takauji's awareness of and adherence to the temporal nature of poetic composition, in that it is composed on the occasion of seasons or events, only further supports that he was an experienced practitioner of the way of poetry. Even by the time that he met with Yoshimoto and Go-Kôgon's party at Tarui as described in the 1353 *Solace of Words*, Takauji had long held an interest in poetry, and he had already established a firm relationship with the courtier and poet Nijô Tamesada 二条為定 (1293-1360).¹⁵⁸ One may imagine the relationship starting when Tamesada included one of Takauji's poems in the imperial anthology he was editing.¹⁵⁹ In 1345, Tamesada transmitted a copy of the *Kokinshû* to Takauji, a high honor in a time when manuscripts were an important part of a family line's political power and social and cultural influence. Kaji Hiroe, too, emphasizes this about Yoshiakira's motivation in writing *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* when he writes, "Waka was thought to be a practice that was linked to the path of national rule" (335).

¹⁵⁸ A practitioner of the Nijô style of poetry, Tamesada was also a mentor to both Nijô Yoshimoto and Emperor Go-Kôgon in poetic composition (Horton 1999, 210), and had connections to Ton'a as well (*WD*).

¹⁵⁹ Tamesada was working on *Zoku goshûi wakashu*, the sixteenth imperial anthology, which was ordered in 1323 by Emperor Go-Daigo, and completed in 1326 with the cooperation of fellow editor Nijô Tamefuji 二条為藤 (1275-1324).

Takauji had also been an active participant in several other poetry events, including a *hōraku* 法楽, a ritual offering of poetry before a shrine, at Sumiyoshi Shrine in 1336.¹⁶⁰ After establishing the Ashikaga shogunate in the Capital, Takauji would become the first of the military leaders to initiate the compilation of an imperial anthology of poetry when he requested Emperor Go-Kōgon to order what would become the eighteenth imperial anthology, *Shin senzai wakashū*. This is even more meaningful considering the strong link to poetry and political authority, especially in a poetic tradition that had for centuries been restricted solely to the work of an imperial figure.¹⁶¹

It is little surprise, then, that Yoshiakira, Takauji's son and successor, followed suit. Like Takauji's, Yoshiakira's activity while at court reflects a dedication to poetic practice. But it also suggests a pointed interest in, if not an anxiety about, legitimizing his role as a poet, depending on one's view of Yoshiakira. For example, he initiated and then participated in a poetry gathering at the newly constructed Tamatsushima shrine in the third month of 1367. It was the *Poetic Competition of Shin-Tamatsushima shrine* (*Shin-Tamatsushima-sha uta-awase* 新玉津島社歌合), for which Nijō Yoshimoto acted as a judge. And then, only six days later, Yoshiakira suggested another poetry gathering, displaying his interest and attention to poetic events as a central aspect of sociopolitical success.

¹⁶⁰ The *Sumiyoshi hōraku waka* 住吉法楽和歌 (also called *Takauji ika goshu waka* 尊氏以下五首和歌) is but one of several examples. Takauji also participated in a thousand-poem sequence in 1335 (建武二年千首和歌), and a 33-poem sequence at a Jōdo-ji temple in Onomichi (尾道浄土寺) in the fifth month of 1336.

¹⁶¹ The compiler for this collection was again Takauji's mentor, Nijō Tamesada. Tamesada completed the collection in 1359, one year after Takauji's death, with Yoshiakira seeing it to its completion.

It is also possible that Yoshiakira took a cue from Nijô Yoshimoto, who had begun serving his second term as regent to Emperor Go-Kôgon only the year before, in 1363. Yoshimoto wrote his travel journal, *Solace of Words at Ojima*, in 1353, only about a decade before Yoshiakira makes his pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi in 1364. Keeping Yoshimoto and his *Solace of Words* in mind as a possible model for Yoshiakira, we can read *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* as taking up the project of legitimizing a ruler through creating a unique and powerful literary lineage, and adding this to the political, military, and literary functions of making a pilgrimage to an important pilgrimage center. In fact, *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* establishes each of these interests in the introduction:

Around the beginning of the fourth month of the third year of the Jôji era [1364], thinking that I should go and look at Naniwa Bay in Settsu Province, I set out on a pilgrimage there. I boarded a boat on the Yodo. While on the river, I gazed at all the mountains in this area as I went along. Because it was at that time the beginning of the fourth month, we saw what remained of the scattering kerria roses on the riverbank. I quieted my regret at seeing the passing of spring. Then—looking like snow at the base of the hedge—the deutzia flowers were growing, a cuckoo singing among them. When I looked across to the distance of the thick and verdant summer mountains, I saw the Yamabato Peak of Hachiman, and prayed to it from afar:

Iwashimizu	Scooping up the water
taenu nagare wo	flowing ceaselessly at Iwashimizu
kumite shiru	I drink it and know your mercy
fukaki megumi zo	from one generation to the next
yoyo ni kawaranu	will never change

Yoshiakira
(GR 554)

There is a use of the word “pilgrimage” (*môde*) almost immediately here, foregrounding the ritual spiritual goals of the journey. The fact that the object of “pilgrimage” is referring here to the “Naniwa Bay in Settsu Province” rather than Sumiyoshi Shrine speaks both to the fame of the shrine, which is such an important place it is unnecessary

to name explicitly, and to the broader appeal of Naniwa Bay and its surrounding area as in itself an important place name in poetry.

The discussion of the natural imagery in the passage emphasizes this poetic reading of the travel journal. The kerria rose (*yamabuki*) is a seasonal poetic word for spring, and its scattering petals corresponds precisely to the time during which he travels—the beginning of the fourth month of the lunar calendar is the period when late spring is turning to early summer. So, even as the yellow petals of the wild rose fall, the white blossoms of the deutzia (*unohana*), a summer flower, burst forth, almost as if in real time, as Yoshiakira goes by. Likewise, the cuckoo (*hototogisu*), another sign of early summer, launches into song as the river carries them along. Even the reference to the “base of the hedge” suggests summer indirectly, in a reference to a poem from the *Tale of Genji* that describe a hedge that bears blossoms of the pink, a summer flower.¹⁶² This, along with the feigned confusion over the white blossoms as snow adds a subtle sense of poetic elegance to the image.

The dense greenery of the mountains seems to carry the traveler even deeper into full summer, and this leads Yoshiakira’s eye to the peak of Mount Yamabato. This is an important place for another reason. It is the location of Iwashimizu Shrine, and perhaps

¹⁶² In the chapter, “The Pink” (“Tokonatsu”) of the *Tale of Genji*, Genji and Tamakazura exchange poems about another summer flower, the pink (*tokonatsu* or *nadeshiko*):

[Genji:]

If he were to see all the inviting beauty of the little pink
he might wish to know as well more of the gilly flower [yûgao]

[Tamakazura:]

Who would wish to know where it was the little pink first of all took root
when she came into the world in a mountain rustic’s hedge
Tyler, trans. 471.

more importantly, the god Hachiman, a family deity of the Minamoto, and known as a powerful protective force over warriors going into battle. The phrase “scoop up to drink and know” (*kumite shiru*) in the poem is used frequently with the place name Iwashimizu in poetry.¹⁶³ The smooth and rapid pace of Yoshiakira’s passage down the Yodo is mirrored in the flowing water of the poem, and also in the intimated transition across generations. Not only does Yoshiakira glorify the success of the Ashikaga’s relatively recent ascent into power, but he also legitimates and secures it by linking it to the favor of Hachiman, and by thinking far ahead to the generations that he hopes will follow.

In addition to this, there is the overarching topos of looking in this passage. It occurs first in the declaration “to look at” (*mimu*) Naniwa Bay. While it is possible to read this as “to see,” the combination of intention (in the suffix *mu*), together with the geographic distance that he must travel to achieve this aim, suggests a more dynamic, assertive, action required. In the second instance, Yoshiakira uses the verb, “to gaze” (*nagamu*), which has a slightly more poetic implication, but also has the effect of extending the period of time during which he is actively looking, and, because he is also traveling, extending the special area that he sees. Regardless, it is not difficult to read the possessive power of the gaze, scanning the mountains on either sides of the Yodo River as he passes swiftly along in his boat.

¹⁶³ There are no examples in the first and most famous poetic anthology, the *Kokinshû*, suggesting that it is a reference that did not develop until later in the Heian period. But several examples appear in the anthologies of the late Heian and Kamakura periods, including the *Goshûishû* (後拾遺集 1087, see poems nos. 615 and 1174), the *Shikashû* (詞花集 1151, see poem no. 377), the *Zoku shûishû* (続拾遺集 1279, see poems nos. 1359 and 1419), and the *Gyokuyôshû* (玉葉集 1312, see poem no. 2781).

This act of looking is remarkably similar to the *kunimi uta* 国見歌, or land-viewing poetry of the age of the *Man'yôshû*. In combining all of these factors to compose the prose and poetry of *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi*, the resulting text demonstrates poetic prowess and bolsters that strength by petitioning the god of poetry for support. In addition to this, the text constructs an important cultural lineage in the same way as in Yoshimoto's *Solace of Words*. This is achieved by appropriating the literature of the aristocracy in making reference to the famous *Tale of Genji* and expertly wielding the other important symbols of poetic knowledge and ability, namely diction and imagery as fits the season, location, and occasion. Finally, there is also the sense that it lays claim to the territory that is mapped in its pages, as though viewing the landscape and the people who populate it results in the definition of and symbolic control over a political unit. The question here is whether this symbolic power, when expressed in poetic form, had the potential for a tangible outcome, as it was believed to have had centuries before.

Kunimi: Land-Viewing Poetry

Noda Hiroki, in her analysis of the ancient poetry of the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and the *Man'yôshû*, identifies several rituals expressed through poetic language that involve looking, including land-praising or land-viewing, palace-praising, agricultural rituals, fertility and marriage rituals, among others. Specifically, it has been well established that in the ancient age, *kunimi uta* acted as a ritual statement of ownership of the land. Gary Ebersole has shown that this ritual is carried out in three primary parts, in which a ruler climbs a mountain, looks at the land and its features below, and praises the land in a poem. This pattern is apparent, for example, in a famous long poem, or *chôka* 長歌, by

Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 人麻呂 (active late 7th c.). On the occasion of a visit to

Yoshino by Empress Jitô 持統天皇 (645-702, r. 686-697), Hitomaro composed the following *chôka*, anthologized in *MYS* I: 36-37:

Yasumishishi
210ag a ôkimi no
kikoshiosu
ame no shita ni
kuni was hi mo
sawa ni aredo mo
yamakawa no
kiyoki kafuchi to
mikokoro o
Yoshino no kuni no
hana chirafu
Akizu no nobe ni
miyabashira
futoshikimaseba
momoshiki no
Ômiyahito wa
funete namete
Asakawa watari
funagioi
yûkawa wataru
kono kawa no
tayuru koto naku
kono yama no
iyatacashirasu
minasosoku
taki no miyako wa
miredo akanu kamo

Envoy

Miredo akanu
Yoshino no kawa no
tokoname no
tayuru koto naku
mata kaerimimu

Where our Sovereign reigns,
Ruling the earth in all tranquility,
Under the heaven
Of this realm she holds in sway,
Many are the lands,
But of their multitude,
Seeing the clear pools
That form along this mountain stream,
She gave her heart
To the fair land of Yoshino
And where blossoms fall
Forever on the fields of Akizu
She planted firm
The mighty pillars of her palace halls.
Now the courtiers,
Men of the palace of the hundred stones,
Line up their boats
To row across the morning stream,
Vie in their boats
To race upon the evening stream:
And like the stream
This place shall last forever,
Like these mountains
Ever loftier shall rise
Beside the plunging waters
Of the torrent her august abode:
Long though I gaze, my eyes will never tire

Long though I gaze,
Never shall I tire of Yoshino,
Within whose stream
The water-moss grows smooth forever
As I shall come to view these sights anew.

Kakinomoto no Hitomaro
(trans. Cranston I: 193-94)

This poem praises the beauty of the land, and the descriptions of the fields and mountains, together with the abundant clean water, speaks of its rich fertility as a land that provides for the people living there. It also praises the stability and beauty of the palace, with its strong pillars and walls of stone, and the constant flow of men across the river reflects both their energy and their loving willingness to serve Empress Jitô. The rich visual imagery described in the *chôka* is emphasized even more in the envoy, in which Hitomaro thematizes his own act of looking at the scene even as he proclaims the longevity of the era in which he and his contemporaries live.

In this case, as in others, the efficacy of the *kunimi uta* lies in the ritual function of the composition and performance of an appropriate poem. The act of looking progresses even farther in Hitomaro's second *chôka*, which he composed on the same occasion, *MYS*

I: 38-39:

Yasumishishi
wa ga ôkimi
kamunagara
kamusabi sesu to
Yoshinogawa
tagitsu kafuchi ni
takadono o
takashirimashite
noboritachi
kunimi o seseba
tatanaharu
aokakiyama
yamatsumi no
matsuru mitsuki to
haruhe ni wa
hana kazashimochi
aki tateba
momichi kazaseri
yukisou
kawa no kami mo
ômike ni
tsukaematsuru to

Our great Sovereign
Who rules the land in all tranquility,
She who is a god
In action godlike has ordained
That by Yoshino,
Where seething waters deepen into pools,
Lofty halls shall rise,
Lifting high above the stream;
And when she climbs aloft
That she may gaze upon her land,
Fold upon fold
The mountains standing in green walls
Present as tribute
Offered by the mountain gods
In springtime
Blossoms worn upon the brow,
And when autumn comes
Deck themselves in yellow leaves.
Gods of the river too,
That flows along the mountain foot,
In order to provide
The Sovereign's table with good fare,

kami tsu se ni
ukawa o tachi
shimo tsu se ni
sade sashiwatasu
yama kawa mo
yorite tsukauru
kami no miyo kamo

At the upper shallows
Start the cormorants downstream,
And at the lower shallows
Spread their nets from bank to bank.
Mountain and river
Join thus in fealty to serve
The god who rules this glorious age.

Envoy

Yama kawa mo
yorite tsukauru
kamunagara
tagitsu kafuchi ni
funade sesu kamo

Whom mountain and river
Join thus in fealty to serve,
She who is a god
Now sets her boat upon the stream
Where seething waters deepen into pools.

Kakinomoto no Hitomaro
(trans. Cranston I: 194-195)

This poem, too, enacts the three-part process of climbing, looking, and praising the land that Ebersole identifies as a ritual act of claiming territory, or *kunimi*. In this case, the first two steps are clear, as Empress Jitô “climbs aloft / that she may gaze upon her land” (*noboritachi / kunimi wo seseba*). The third aspect, praising the land, works together with the previous poem. By praising Jitô as a god who is loved by her people (*MYS* no. 36: “men of the palace.../ line up their boats”) and the other gods of the land (*MYS* no. 38 and 39: “mountain and river / join thus in fealty to serve”) alike, *MYS* no. 38-39 echo and in fact amplify the rich descriptions of a beautiful and fertile land in *MYS* no. 36-37.

Another ancient example of looking as part of a ritual act can be found in one of the origin stories included in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. In it, the gods Izanagi and Izanami engage in a mutual act of looking upon each other as part of a marriage and fertility ceremony. In this case, the process of looking is expressly described as a mutual act. As with the *kagura uta*, then, the multiple directionality of looking suggests that the *kunimi uta* leads to a dialogue, its ritual nature temporarily allowing the poet to

communicate with divine beings associated with a specific geographic site.¹⁶⁴ In this story there is also a process of renewal and fertility involved in looking, which can be extended to human relationships or agricultural work. This sense of productivity and prosperity is likewise apparent in *kunimi* poetry, which establishes a firm link between the benevolence of the land as sacred, beautiful, or fertile, and the ruler's role as custodian of that land, or as a mediator between the gods that reside in the land and the people who live upon it.

Examples of ritualized looking, particularly those that produce concrete results, are most commonly associated with the early ritual-poetic culture of the ancient age. This is surely because most, if not all, extant examples of *kunimi* poetry, which deal explicitly with the act of looking at a realm, appear in the *Man'yôshû*, *Kojiki*, and *Nihon shoki*. This identification also implies that the ritual function of poetry, and the potential to employ them for such concrete outcomes, was lost rather suddenly with the transition to imperial rule at the turn of the ninth century. However, there are other examples of purposeful looking in cultural production throughout the Heian period. For example, it has been well documented that the literary technique of *kaimami* 垣間見, or “peeping through the fence” is an act of sexualized possession.¹⁶⁵

In the case of *kaimami*, the power of looking is typically equated with a hierarchical notion of possession, in which the viewer is in a position of social power, and can claim possession over the viewed. However, as the examples from Hitomaro show, the poem does not need to be attributed to an emperor in order to link land and

¹⁶⁴ See Chapter 2 for a discussion of *kagura uta*.

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, Norma Field 2001, and Edith Sarra 1999.

ruler through an act of viewing. In the case of Hitomaro's first *chôka*, the act of looking need not even be done by the ruler herself. There is a practice of composing a descriptive poem in which, by praising the land or a palace, Hitomaro as subject attributes political power to Empress Jitô. There are other such examples of *kunimi* poems that were composed about, rather than by, a ruling figure, including an anonymous *chôka* that is attributed to the laborers who built the Fujiwara Palace in Nara for Empress Jitô. Additionally, there are cases in which *kunimi* is used by political rivals in order to make claims in a dispute or a struggle over claims to the throne. This is an action that a potential ruler carried out as well, even in the absence of a threat from rivals. That is, a prince or princess who is on the verge of becoming an emperor or empress performs a *kunimi* ritual, and in some cases it appears to assist in the ruler's transition into the imperial office.¹⁶⁶

Like the fertility ritual mutually performed by Izanagi and Izanami, then, Hitomaro's four poems reflect a ritual process whereby the viewer achieves a strong link to the deity of a specific stretch of land. In the case of Hitomaro, the productive results are manifested not only in the flourishing of the people and the land described, but also in the performative declaration of Empress Jitô's protective ownership of those people and landscapes. It is important to note here that the efficacious aspect of these performances does not lie in the role of the poet who performs the ritual. That is, a ritual *kunimi* poem can be enacted by a poet in the place of a ruler, or by a person who wishes to step into a position of rulership, whether this takes place as a planned and politically authorized

¹⁶⁶ See Appendix E for a detailed analysis of one case in which *kunimi* poetry is central in the transition from crown prince to emperor in the *Kojiki*.

process of ascension to the throne or as the result of a rivalry. Instead of the role of the poet, it is the combined act of looking and poetic composition that carries performative potential. It is precisely the act of looking—ritualized through poetic composition—that establishes that link between the concrete territory and the abstract claim to ownership or rule over it.

The Act of Looking

None of the poems in *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* fits precisely the definition of a *kunimi* poem. Perhaps the example that comes closest is a poem composed upon arriving at the Naniwa Bay, before going to the Sumiyoshi Shrine:

After looking at the Bay, we went in the boat to look around here and there.

kikishi yori	More than hearing of it
miru wa masareri	looking at it was superb—
kefu yashiro ha	the shrine that I saw
hajimete mitsu no	for the first time today with
ura no yûnami	the evening waves over Mitsu Bay

Yoshiakira
(GR 555)

Even read together with the *kotobagaki* as an introduction, this poem does not necessarily give a sense of ownership or making claim to the land. Further, a major theme in the poem about Sumiyoshi is for the poet to express the desire to visit the place in order to see it in person. Famous examples include poems by Taira no Kanemori 平兼盛 (d. 990) in the Poetry Competition at the Palace (Dairi utaawase 内裏歌合 960), and by Ki no Tsurayuki in a poem included in the *Shûishû*, the third imperial poetic anthology.

Considering this form of journal that is specifically defined by travel, it is possible to read *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* at face value, as a record of traveling to a new place

and describing the novel scenery encountered there. Indeed, Morinis emphasizes the role of the traveler's subjective experience of the landscape in pilgrimage, identifying vision as among the most common factors of the "direct, sensory, non-intellectual experience in socio-cultural life" (9).

This is likely the reason why discussions of *kunimi* poetry tend to focus specifically on the ancient poetry of the *Kojiki* and *Man'yôshû*, which demonstrate the ruler's ritual performance of climbing a hill or mountain, looking at the land, and praising it.¹⁶⁷ But it is impossible to deny that there was a very heavy emphasis on looking as a conscious act in *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi*. In a comparatively brief diary, the verbs "to look" (*miru*) and "to gaze" (*nagamu*) occur over twenty times, primarily in the prose sections. The act of viewing and claiming the land is described more subtly but with no less authority, in *Solace of Words at Ojima*, in which we view the famous poetic landmarks through the eyes of Nijô Yoshimoto, but always with the awareness of Emperor Go-Kôgon as a ruler. Similarly, the three *Fuji Viewing* diaries, about Ashikaga Yoshinori's journey to look at Mount Fuji in 1433, which I will discuss in detail in Chapter 4, do the same. The very titles of the three diaries emphasize the act of looking at Mount Fuji, which had by then long been an important landmark that was directly tied to conceptions of a unified realm.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ And this extends to certain ritual practices of the ancient period, especially those related to the office of emperor or empress, and making demonstrations of political power and spirituality (deification).

¹⁶⁸ The titles of the three diaries are very similar: *Diary of Viewing Fuji* (*Fuji goran nikki*, anon.), *Journey to Fuji* (*Fuji kikô*, Asukai Masayo), and *Record of Viewing Fuji* (*Ran Fuji ki*, Gyôkô).

Perhaps the ancient attention to looking through poetry, especially through the theme of travel, was taken up again in the late Kamakura and Muromachi periods with renewed interest. It is entirely possible, considering the increasing awareness of territory and making political claims to specific areas of land during this time. Whatever the reason, it is clear that the notion of looking at the land and making a formal declaration about it in poetic language persisted in the Nanbokuchō and well into the Muromachi period.

It is also clear that the act of looking, and perhaps also conceptions of how vision worked, had changed by the late Heian and Kamakura periods. For example, we see the appearance of a “visual style” of poetic composition in the writing on poetic theory in that time. The term, “visual style” (*ken'yō* 見様) is a poetic term that suggests a style that reflects what is seen. This term purportedly comes from the poetic theories of Fujiwara Teika, who enumerates ten styles of poetic composition.¹⁶⁹ In the “Monthly Notes,” the style of visual description is called *mirutei* 見体. Brower describes the *mirutei* as

¹⁶⁹ The ten styles are: the style of mystery and depth (*yūgen tei* 幽玄体), the style of appropriate statement (*koto shikarubeki tei* 事可然体), the style of elegant beauty (*uruwashiki tei* 麗体), the style of deep feeling (*ushin tei* 有心体), the lofty style (*taketakaki tei* 長高体), the style of visual description (*miru tei* 見体), the style of clever treatment (*omoshiroki tei* 面白体), the style of novel treatment (*hitofushi aru tei* 有一節体), the style of exquisite detail (*komayaka naru tei* 濃体), and the demon-quelling style (*onihishigi tei* or *kiratsu no tei* 鬼拉体). I have adopted Brower’s English translations of these style names. It is in his “Monthly Notes” (*Maigetsushō* 毎月抄) that Teika names and describes the ten styles of poetry. There is also *Teika jittei* 定家十体, literally “The Ten Styles of Teika,” a text on poetic theory that was historically attributed to Teika despite having been written by one of his descendents. The concept of “ten styles of poetry” (*waka jittei* 和歌十体) was not limited to Teika’s work, but also appears in a mid-Heian poetic treatise by Minamoto Tadamine 源忠岑 (active 10th c.), which suggests ten categories of poetic composition, but does not include a category “looking” or “visual style.” Other theories of poetry suggest categories, as well, including the eight styles of

a rather bland style emphasizing visual description and imagery. It was this style, used to dilute the traditional subjective mannerisms of the “Fujiwara style,” that was particularly favored by Tameie and the Nijō line of Teika’s descendants. (411n30)

There are twelve examples of the *mirutei* provided in *Teika Jittei*, including one on “Young Rice Shoots in Mountain Fields” by Minamoto Tsunenobu 源経信 (1016-1097), anthologized in *Shinkokinshū*, Spring II, 225:

sanae toru	The water pipe leading
yamada no kakehi	into the mountain fields
morinikeri	must be leaking,
hiku shimenawa ni	for dewlike drops seep from the sacred ropes
tsuyu zo koboruru	hung across the beds of seedling rice

Minamoto Tsunenobu
(adapted from Brower, trans., 411n30)

But this conclusion echoes the rather generalized definition of *miru yō* 見様 provided in the *Waka daijiten* (*Dictionary of Japanese Poetry*).¹⁷⁰ The other poems listed under the *mirutei* do not seem quite so mundane. Teika provides as another example a poem by Yoshitsune that is anthologized in *SKKS* Autumn I, 418:

kumo wa mina	Each and every cloud
haraihatetaru	is swept clean away
akikaze wo	by the autumn winds
matsu ni nokoshite	leaving only the pines

the *Gukenshō* 愚見抄, and the twenty styles of the Sangoki 三五記, both of which were among the “cormorant-heron lineage *karon*” 鵜鷺系歌論書 *usagikei karonsho* falsely attributed to Teika. Shinkei 心敬 (1406-1475) examines Teika’s ten styles extensively in *Sasamegoto* (1462-63), in which he cites and discusses a collection of *renga* classified according to each style. Sōgi 宗祇 (1421-1502) mentions Teika’s ten styles of poetry, and used them as a foundation for introducing ten styles of *renga* in his *Azuma mondō* 吾妻問答 (1467). The range of texts that follow Teika in listing styles of composition reflect the influence that Teika had on *waka* and *renga* poets for centuries to come.¹⁷⁰ The definition reads: “A style of composition that describes [a scene] just as it is seen, in a light style that is not weighed down with technique” (*Waka daijiten*). See Takeda Motoharu 1990 for a discussion of this text in his article, “Teika jittai no kenkyū.”

tsuki wo miru kana

the moon I gaze upon

Yoshitsune
(*Nihon kagaku taikei* IV: 372)

Yet another that Teika includes is by Gishûmon'in no Tango, a poem that is included in *SKKS* Autumn II, no. 1507:

yomosugara
ura kogu fune ha
ato mo nashi
tsuki zo nokoreru
Shiga no Karasaki

Traversing the night entire
the boat rowing across the bay
leaves not a trace
but the moon is left intact in the water
of Cape Karasaki in Shiga

Gishûmon'in no Tango
(*Nihon kagaku taikei* IV: 373)

Based on these examples, the point of a “style of looking” is to place strongest emphasis upon the visual descriptions in the poems. In addition to the scene, these poems give the sense of looking carefully over an extended period of time. Throughout the process of careful observation, each poet appears to enter a meditative state, forgetting the self but finding profound meaning in the scene. As a result, even though there are no thoughts or feelings voiced, the visual elements of the poem become deeply moving. The human emotional elements are set off to greater effect as they are expressed through the images.

The visual style is well suited to poems about travel, which is an act that takes place over a long period of time, and which focuses intensely on the appearance of certain landscapes, particularly in the context of previous descriptions of those landscapes. Roselee Bundy has shown that in the Kamakura period, poems on the topic of travel and love reflect a different set of compositional and stylistic qualities than seasonal poetry. In travel and love poems, she identifies the common devices as follows: more frequent references to the *Tale of Genji* and the *Tales of Ise*; greater use of rhetorical

devices such as *engo* (associated words) and *kakekotoba* (pivot-words); heavier use of apostrophe or self-addressing; and a greater emphasis on natural images juxtaposed against the exclamatory statements (225-226). That is, when the poem is concerned with elements of human experience (travel, love), there is a tendency to express human thoughts in an indirect way.

There is evidence that both Nijô and Reizei lines had access to Teika's writing, and valued it greatly. Nijô Yoshimoto, having studied and practiced the styles favored by each line, would have been familiar with *Monthly Notes*. He is very likely to have used these ideas and passed them along to his protégés, including Emperor Go-Kôgon, Takauji, and Yoshiakira. There is also evidence in the poetic treatises that influential poetic figures saw variations in poetic style according to the age. For example, Shunzei is among the first poets with extant writings that distinguish periods when he identifies "ancient," "mid-ancient," and "recent past" in the history of poetic composition (*NKBZ* 50: 278-294).¹⁷¹ This points to ongoing shifts in worldview by poets throughout the Kamakura and Muromachi periods.

These ideas about looking certainly had an impact on the poetic composition and compilation practices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For example, the fourteenth-century poetic anthology *Utamakura nayose* reflects an attempt to organize poetry based on a geographic structure, by compiling books named for each of the five provinces and seven routes, or *goki shichidô* 五畿七道. This stands in contrast to the typical approach of organizing a poetic anthology by topic, with books on the seasons,

¹⁷¹ Shunzei outlines these eras in his *Notes on Poetic Style through the Ages* (*Korai fûteishô* 古来風体抄 1197, written at the request of Princess Shikishi 式子 d. 1201).

love, or travel. An editorial approach based on topic is most closely associated with imperially ordered anthologies, but this became a standard for the literary canon and so was also adopted in the vast majority of other poetic collections. Because of this tradition established in the Heian period, the design of *Utamakura nayose* based on geography is almost shocking in its departure from the standard of the imperial anthology.

Upon consideration, this method of organization based on geography also differs from ancient conceptions of poetry and land. As Noda Hiroko shows, the ancient texts reflect a tendency to compartmentalize provinces separately, as in the individual books of the *Gazetters* (*Fûdoki* 風土記), and that the organization and descriptions of the land were based on the notion of a literally divine landscape, and perhaps also a type of human-divine dichotomy. But it also offers an alternative worldview to the thematic organization of nature in the Heian period that is visible in the *chokusenshû* as well as in documents on *utamakura* such as the *Nôin utamakura*.¹⁷²

Although it is a short diary, and of uncertain origin, *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* is an example of the different ways in which one can look at, and actively shape, the landscape. In the use of the verbs “to look” (*miru*) and “to gaze” (*nagamu*), there is a reference to the tradition of *kunimi* poetry. This renews, facilitates, and justifies the practice of using the act of poetic composition to draw connections between land and realm. Composing a poem about a landscape becomes a way to appraise a geographic area, and thus imagine it as a political unit. We see this particularly in the poems that use

¹⁷² It is beyond the scope of the present study, but it would be enlightening to examine how poetic anthologies of the Heian, Kamakura, and Muromachi periods reflect the ways in which geography was organized in “official” cultural documents, and the ways in which an imperially sanctioned worldview may have changed in conjunction with this.

the names for Japan (*Hi no moto* and *Shikishima*) in the poems themselves, but also in the discussion of the other poets (Saigyô, Ariwara no Narihira), the people (*tami* 民), and the sense of history that extends back to the age of the gods.

Considering this model that Takauji provided for his son, as shogun, poet, and even as pilgrim to Sumiyoshi, it is only that much more likely that Yoshiakira would also travel to Sumiyoshi Shrine in order to make similar prayers and poetic offerings. The difference, however, is that Yoshiakira recorded the process of making his pilgrimage, from the time that he left the Capital until the moment that he departs from the sacred presence of the deities of the Sumiyoshi Shrine. In addition to traveling to the shrine and composing poems to the god of Sumiyoshi, Yoshiakira also made a written record of the landscapes that he viewed, as well as the poems that he composed along the way.

When making a pilgrimage, what is the difference between composing poetry on site as an offering to the gods, as in Takauji's case, and making a record of the entire journey, as in Yoshiakira's case? The poems have the same function in either instance, but the travel diary narrates the process in more explicit detail before culminating in making those poems as offerings. But rather than emphasizing the narrative, it in fact seems to emphasize the poetic practice itself, by including the poems in the travel journal, a literary form that at the time was only becoming increasingly popular.

The travel journal also reifies a wider range of places. There is a geographical expansion in which the goal increases from Sumiyoshi Shrine, viewed perhaps in contrast to the Capital, to a broader network that includes Sumiyoshi and the Capital, as well as a range of important places along the way. This has the added effect of increasing the past famous figures that are reified, from the gods of Sumiyoshi to a range of other figures.

Included among these are Murasaki Shikibu and Prince Genji, Ariwara no Narihira, and wandering priest Saigyô. Even Takauji, the founder of the Ashikaga shogunate, an institution that Yoshiakira works to maintain, strengthen, and ultimately pass on to the next generation, becomes a reified presence at Sumiyoshi.

Cultivating a sense of continuity is important in this endeavor. Acting as a ruler, from patronizing the arts to ordering *chokusenshû* to using the principles of *kunimi* land-viewing poetry, is based on precedent. Authority comes from the depth acquired by a practice, or through the ownership of certain material objects, such as a manuscript, through a lineage that has come down through the past. While the shogun's claim to this cultural authority may still be somewhat contested at this point, he can nonetheless claim to "protect" the emperor, and through this, whoever holds the emperor is the legitimate shogun. This extends to the notion of cultural property, whereby the ruler must understand it and wield it himself in order to make claims to be a defender of that cultural property. Therefore, it is in the best interest for a shogun to be able to wield poetry, which allows his power to acquire a patina similar to the old aristocracy.

Figure for Chapter 4

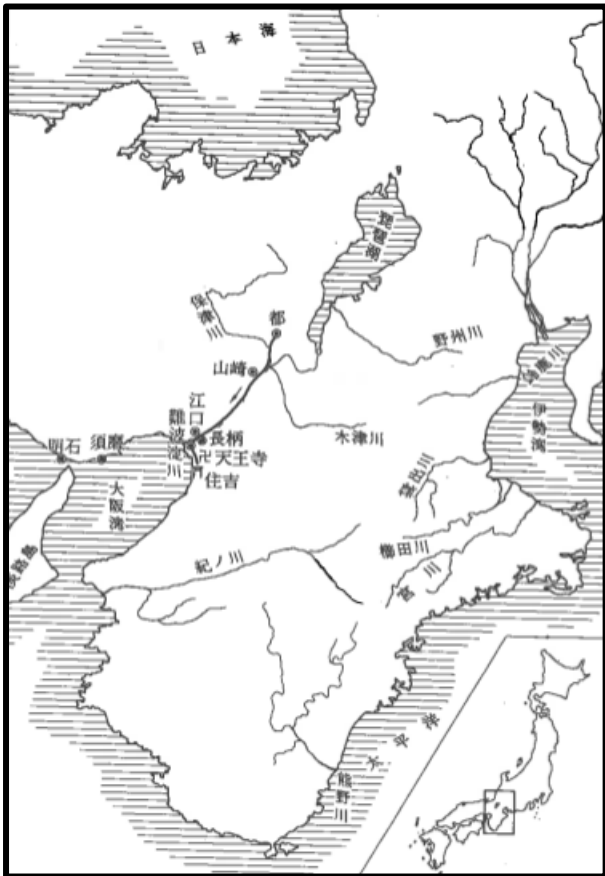


Figure 9: A map of Ashikaga Yoshiakira's route in Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi (Fukuda and Plutschow 1975, 85).

Chapter 5

Yoshinori's Journey to View Fuji:

Constructions of Space in Travel Writing

In 1432, the sixth Ashikaga shogun, Yoshinori, traveled the Tōkaidō to view Mount Fuji. Although the underlying strategic goals of the trip were only thinly concealed by this sightseeing event, three of Yoshinori's attendants recorded the journey in poetic travel journals: *A Record of Fuji-Viewing* (*Ran Fuji ki* 覧富士記, by Gyōkō), *Journey to Fuji* (*Fuji kikō* 富士紀行, by Asukai Masayo), and *Diary of Viewing Fuji* (*Fuji goran nikki* 富士御覧日記, attributed to Imagawa Norimasa).¹⁷³

After reaching their destination, the party enjoyed the view of the mountain with a poetry and viewing event that lasted from sunrise until well after dark on the nineteenth night of the ninth month. Yoshinori, wearing a white cotton cap against the chill of the

¹⁷³ *Diary of Viewing Fuji* (*Fuji goran nikki*) is traditionally designated anonymous. It is the shortest of the *Fuji Viewing* journals, and consists primarily of poems, with only infrequent and minimal prose passages to introduce the poems if at all. It has been attributed to Sōchō 宗長 (1448-1532), based on his reputation as a successful poet, and because his work as a *renga* teacher in the Muromachi period required him to travel. A postscript to one line of manuscripts reading “with over eight [*renga*] links, Sōchō,” suggests that this attribution is an early one (Shirai 1976, 7). Araki Yoshio has argued that, based on Sōchō's birth in 1448, it is a stretch to place him among the Fuji viewing party in 1432, and that the postscript indicates Sōchō had transcribed that manuscript (*Chūsei bungaku jiten*). Ultimately, Shirai Chūkō convincingly posits Imagawa Norimasa as a likely author, in no small part because the majority of the poems are Norimasa's. Because of this, I have approached the diary as though it were Norimasa's, remaining as ever conscious of the differences between the historical figure and the literary persona.

mid-autumn morning, compared himself to a classical poetic image of Mount Fuji with a cloud over its peak. Yoshinori's poem on the occasion appears in Gyôkô's journal:

The morning was quite cold, and so the Shogun donned a white cotton cap, and at that very moment, there was hovering over the peak of Fuji a single cloud, and it looked just like a cap:

ware narazu	I can't help but think
kesa wa Suruga no	that this morning
Fuji no ne ni	there is a cloud
watabôshi to mo	that is a cotton cap
nareru kumo kana	for the peak of Fuji in Suruga

Gyôkô
(*Fuji-Viewing* 472)

In all of the examples of travel journals thus far, there is a connection between how space is organized on the page, whether as word or as image, and how geography is organized within a realm. *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi*, in particular, has shown the different ways in which a ruler can purposefully look at, and actively shape, the landscape through which he travels. Reminiscent of the *kunimi uta* of the *Man'yôshû* age, this act of looking transforms the land into a realm, an area imagined as a political unit, through poetic composition. In 1364, almost seventy years after Yoshiakira's journey to Sumiyoshi, Yoshinori's trip to see Mount Fuji prioritizes looking in much the same way. Although the strategic military and political goals were just as essential a reason for Yoshinori making this journey, the diaries treat it almost exclusively as a significant sightseeing event. This emphasis upon the act of looking at Mount Fuji is evident in the titles of all three diaries, and extends throughout the text of each.

Rather than addressing the issue of narrative alone in reading the medieval travel journal, it is more useful to discuss these texts in terms of organization of space (as

geography) and time (as history and precedent), and the components of the travel journal that contribute to that. Travel journals were a way for those members of the elite ruling classes—aristocracy and bakufu—to experiment with organizing geography and history. The process of organizing is a next step of looking and composing a poem, as discussed in Chapter 3. As such, the journal, a series of poems arranged with prose introductions to form a narrative, becomes a way to manipulate the otherwise discrete representations of different places, and therefore strengthens the effectiveness of looking and composing a single poem standing alone. The *Fuji* diaries do this very explicitly—looking is prioritized, and used together with the traveler’s presence to demonstrate control over that which is viewed.

The project of constructing a history through the aura of a famous place is a way to suggest an alternate lineage.¹⁷⁴ But this view of the place as a gateway for accessing and constructing a selective version of history is not necessarily a conscious act. Nor is it limited to travelers who are in need of a different lineage; Yoshimoto, for example, could hardly have asked for a better list of literary and political figures to support his own station in life, and yet there is a distinct lineage that takes shape in the text of *Solace of Words at Ojima*. What matters the most here is that the place provides access to a specific set of historical figures, and in conjunction with that, a specific set of information, in the sense of precedent.

¹⁷⁴ This is true even in the case of Sôkyû, for whom the travel journal format allowed access to a prestigious literary lineage as an alternative to his inherited familial or literary lineages, which are not remembered or recorded, but were likely not very prestigious.

The Journey to See Fuji

Like the other two diaries by Asukai Masayo and Imagawa Norimasa, Gyôkô's diary details the journey that he took to Suruga province with Yoshinori in the ninth month of 1432. The party left the capital on the tenth day, and traveled along the Tôkaidô after crossing the Ôsaka Barrier. Along the way, they saw the cormorant fishing boats on the Sunomata-gawa River, and stopped to pay their respects at the Atsuta-jingû shrine, which was said to hold the sword of the legendary Yamato Takeru of the ancient *Man'yôshû* age. They held a poetry event with Sanjô Sanemasa and Asukai Masayo in the village of Yahagi no Sato, and they passed through such famous *utamakura* sites as Hashimoto, Kakekawa River, and Mount Sayanonaka. On the eighteenth day, they finally arrived at the home of Imagawa Norimasa, the *shugo* 守護 (provincial governor) of Suruga province. They stayed there, in the seat of Suruga province, only taking one brief excursion to Seiken-ji temple, during which they also observed the fisherfolk in the area.¹⁷⁵

On the twenty-first day, they departed, and returned to the capital on the twenty-eighth day of the ninth month. The men likely composed their diaries immediately upon the party's return to the Capital, as was the custom for writing travel journals. There is some evidence to suggest that Gyôkô wrote his diary as late as the fourth day of the tenth month, about a week after the party's return.

In all three diaries, Yoshinori's journey is framed as a sightseeing trip to view Mount Fuji. In addition to the interesting and unusual sights along the road, they mention

¹⁷⁵ For the full itinerary of the journey, see Table 7, "Comparative List of Place Names in the *Fuji Viewing Journals*."

gazing upon the great mountain from afar during their stop at Shiomi-saka hill, and a great portion of each diary is dedicated to transcribing the poetry that the party composed during a full day-long viewing party of Fuji from Imagawa Norimasa's home in Suruga. But there were of course other reasons for the shogun to make his way to Suruga.

In the ninth month of 1432, when Yoshinori went to Suruga province for his Fuji viewing trip, Norimasa exerted great effort to prepare his home in the seat of Suruga to host Yoshinori and his party. During this time, Norimasa was strongly favoring his youngest son, Chiyo no Akimaru 千代秋丸, for inheritance of the family headship.

However, spurred on by the interests of bakufu policy with regards to the Kantô, there was a serious conflict within the larger Imagawa family over the succession of the family head.¹⁷⁶ Considering the geographic location of Suruga, in addition to the importance of having a reliable ally who would uphold the interests of the bakufu in the capital against the Kamakura branch of the Ashikaga, it is entirely plausible that Yoshinori would have had an interest in going to visit Norimasa in order to attempt to influence him in the matter.

In general, Yoshinori was traveling to observe the state of the Kantô region, the eastern provinces centered around the city of Kamakura. More specifically, and in addition to whatever concerns he may have had over the succession of the Imagawa family, Yoshinori was doing so because of concerns over the actions of Ashikaga Mochiuji, the Kantô *kubô* 関東公方, or steward and chief general of that region. To better understand the fraught relationship between Yoshinori and his distant cousin

¹⁷⁶ Norimasa died before the conflict was entirely resolved, on 1433.5.27, at the age of 70.

Mochiuji, it is necessary to first outline briefly the history of the Kantô *kubô*, the Ashikaga rulers in Kamakura.¹⁷⁷

The Ashikaga in Kamakura

The Kantô *kubô* is a title that designates the head of what was essentially the eastern administrative branch of the Ashikaga shogunate. From his seat in the city of Kamakura, it was the duty of the Kantô *kubô* to oversee the general administrative and judicial business of some ten provinces of eastern Honshû.¹⁷⁸ The Kantô *kubô* had the authority to gather and direct armies from each of those provinces, to grant or seize landholdings, and to make official appointments within the regional bureaus, as well as in temples and shrines.

When the first of the Ashikaga shoguns, Takauji, was involved in the warfare that would lead him to securing the Ashikaga shogunate in the capital following the collapse of the Kamakura shogunate, he left his eldest son Yoshiakira to stand as a representative

¹⁷⁷ The following discussion is based on Ogawa Takeo 2008, Inoue Muneo 2007 and 1961, Ito Kei 2005, and Imatani Akira 2003. For English language scholarship, see Ramirez-Christensen 1994, Suzanne Gay's translation of Imatani Akira 1988, Keene 2003, and Carter 1996.

¹⁷⁸ Because he is based in Kamakura, the Kantô *kubô* is sometimes called the Kamakura *kubô* 鎌倉公方. The name Kantô 関東 literally means "East of the Barriers," and referred to the provinces that lay northeast of the Suzuka 鈴鹿, Fuwa 不破, and Arachi 愛宕 Barriers. In the Kamakura period, this term was synonymous with the Kamakura bakufu and its jurisdiction. In the Muromachi period, this meaning persisted, and the region maintained its designation as Kamakura-fu 鎌倉府. The structure and maintenance of Kamakura-fu was based entirely on the Muromachi bakufu in the capital. Under the Ashikaga shogunate, the Kantô included Sagami 相模, Musashi 武蔵, Awa 安房, Kazusa 上総, Shimofusa 下総, Hitachi 常陸, Kôzuke 上野, and Shimotsuke 下野, in addition to Izu 伊豆 and Kai 甲斐 Provinces. The first eight of these are traditionally known as the "eight provinces of the Kantô."

of Ashikaga control over Kamakura and the eastern provinces.¹⁷⁹ Only four years old at the time, Yoshiakira was little more than a symbol, but he was there under the guardianship of three trusted generals who were related to the Ashikaga family.¹⁸⁰ In 1349, Takauji sent his second son, nine-year-old Motouji, to Kamakura in place of Yoshiakira.¹⁸¹ Although Motouji was also under the guardianship of Uesugi Noriaki, this time it was a formal and permanent appointment, which eventually came to be known as the Kantô *kubô*.¹⁸²

Motouji had been stationed in Kamakura no more than a year before the eruption of the Kan'ô Disturbance in 1350, when Ashikaga Tadayoshi, who was also posted in Kamakura, revolted against Takauji, his older brother.¹⁸³ During this conflict, Motouji supported Tadayoshi and his general, Uesugi Noriaki, in leading the armies of the Kantô provinces against Takauji in the capital. After Takauji killed Tadayoshi, Motouji conceded, although the fighting continued. Now aligned with his father Takauji, Motouji

¹⁷⁹ Takauji 尊氏 (1305-1358, r. 1338-1358) originally posted his younger brother Tadayoshi 直義 (1306-1352) in Kamakura to maintain control of the region. However, Kamakura came under attack, and he returned there to reclaim control. After securing Ashikaga power in Kamakura, Takauji returned to the capital.

¹⁸⁰ The guardians were all related to the Ashikaga by either marriage or blood. They were Hosokawa Kiyouji 細川清氏, Uesugi Noriaki 上杉憲顕, and Shiba Ienaga 斯波家長. The Uesugi eventually became the hereditary chief assistants, or Kantô *kanrei* 関東管領 to the Kantô *kubô*.

¹⁸¹ Yoshiakira 義詮 (1330-1367) would go on to serve as second in command to Takauji during his rule, and eventually rule as the second Ashikaga shogun from 1358-1367. See Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

¹⁸² Takauji originally called the position Kantô *kanrei* 関東管領, which gives the sense of “manager of Kantô.” After Motouji’s death, as a way to distinguish themselves and justify greater political and military authority, the subsequent Ashikaga men in Kamakura adopted the title of *kubô* (which is something closer to “leader” in the sense of a general), and they handed the title of *kanrei* to the Uesugi men who acted as their chief officers.

¹⁸³ The Kan'ô Disturbance (*Kan'ô no jôran* 観応の騒乱 1350-52) is a part of the backdrop for the events of Nijô Yoshimoto’s *Solace of Words at Ojima*, which took place in 1353. See Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

began his campaigns against the remaining supporters of Tadayoshi's cause, and was ultimately quite effective.¹⁸⁴ By directly confronting those remaining men who opposed his renewed alliance with Uesugi Noriaki, Motouji gradually regained control of all of the eastern provinces, and built the foundations for the various military groups throughout the Kantô region to work as a single unit in cooperation with Takauji and the Northern Court in the capital.

The second Kantô *kubô* was Motouji's son, Ujimitsu 氏満 (1359-1398).¹⁸⁵

Ujimitsu was for a short time favored to become the fourth Ashikaga shogun in order to allow the third shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 義満 (1358-1408, r. 1368-1394), to step down in 1379, but these plans never transpired.¹⁸⁶ During Ujimitsu's era, there was perpetual fighting in northern Kantô, but by 1392 he had been able to bring Mutsu 陸奥 and Dewa 出羽 provinces under the full jurisdiction of the Kamakura precinct.

Upon Ujimitsu's death in 1398, his son, Ashikaga Mitsukane 満兼 (1378-1409), became the third Kantô *kubô*.¹⁸⁷ One of Mitsukane's first successes as *kubô* was to

¹⁸⁴ Motouji helped to overthrow such higher ranking generals as Nitta Yoshioki 新田義興, and gathered the majority of generals and their armies from the eastern provinces under his control. In addition to this, he banished Hatakeyama Nikiyo 畠山国清, who remained loyal to Tadayoshi's cause. Motouji then forgave Uesugi Noriaki, who had by then fled to Echigo province (present day Niigata Prefecture), and made him an ally once again by reestablishing Noriaki's position as Kantô *kanrei*.

¹⁸⁵ Ujimitsu was the son of Motouji. Upon his father's death, Ujimitsu was named the second Kantô *kubô* in 1367, at the age of nine, two years before his coming-of-age ceremony. Ujimitsu died on the fourth day of the eleventh month of 1398 (Ôei 5).

¹⁸⁶ Ujimitsu ultimately declined the position when the Kantô *kanrei* under his command, Uesugi Noriharu 上杉憲春 dissented by threatening to commit suicide if Ujimitsu went to the capital to become shogun.

¹⁸⁷ Mitsukane became Kantô *kubô* at the age of twenty-one, immediately following his father's death. Mitsukane died of illness on 1409.7.22, at thirty-two years of age, and he was interred at the Shôkô-in Hall of Zuisen-ji Temple 瑞泉寺勝光院.

strengthen their family's power over Mutsu and Dewa Provinces, the region that had been newly pacified by Ujimitsu.¹⁸⁸ In the meantime in 1399, Mitsukane combined forces with Ôuchi Yoshihiro, a powerful military figure in Western Honshu, in a revolt against the Ashikaga bakufu.¹⁸⁹ But after the Ashikaga bakufu defeated Ôuchi Yoshihiro, Mitsukane's Kantô *kanrei*, Uesugi Norisada 上杉憲定, managed to dissuade him from attempting an attack on the capital with his own army.¹⁹⁰

Mitsukane's son, Ashikaga Mochiuji 持氏 (1398-1439), was the fourth Kantô *kubô*.¹⁹¹ It is Mochiuji who was acting Kantô *kubô* during Ashikaga Yoshinori's rule as the sixth shogun. But in fact, Mochiuji saw the office of shogun turn over three times in under a decade during his time as Kantô *kubô*. After the third shogun Yoshimitsu, the post of shogun, the highest general in the Ashikaga bakufu and de facto ruler of the entire

¹⁸⁸ Mitsukane had sent his two brothers as officials to the southern regions of Mutsu and Dewa to achieve this.

¹⁸⁹ This is the Ôei disturbance (*Ôei no ran* 応永の乱) of 1399. Ôuchi Yoshihiro (大内義弘 1358-1399) was the *shugo daimyo* (provincial military governor) of five provinces west of the capital, including Kii, Izumi, Buzen, Iwami, Nagato, and Suô provinces, as a result of inheritance as well as his own military and monetary gains in Japan and the Korean peninsula. In particular, Ôuchi Yoshihiro had gained power and respect for his cooperation with the Northern Court and the Ashikaga bakufu in suppressing uprisings in Kyûshû and in the 1391 Meitoku Disturbance (*Meitoku no ran* 明德の乱).

¹⁹⁰ Mitsukane's motivation for moving against the bakufu was in part because of the relative stability in the Kinai region (the central provinces around the capital) after the shogun Yoshimitsu's success in unifying the Northern and Southern Courts. Before this unification, the two rival courts had been at odds and the intermittent conflicts between them therefore made the region unstable. Because Ôuchi Yoshihiro was threatening the bakufu primarily from Kyûshû and western provinces, Ashikaga Mitsukane's support from the northeast in Kamakura was surely a significant threat to the bakufu, who were situated in the capital between these two powers.

¹⁹¹ He began his period as the fourth Kantô *kubô* from the time of his father's death, in 1409, at the age of 12, and had his coming-of-age ceremony about one year later. He died in 1439.2.10, at 42 years of age, forced by Yoshinori to commit suicide as a result of his activities in the Eikyô incident of 1438.

realm, shifted rapidly from Yoshimochi (r. 1394-1423) to Yoshikazu (r. 1423-1425), and finally to Yoshinori (r. 1428-1441).

Moreover, the circumstances of each of these shogunal transitions suggested a weakening of the centralized system of rule out of the Muromachi district in the capital. Yoshimochi was named the fourth shogun immediately after his coming-of-age ceremony at the age of nine, but this was in name only as he bent largely to the will of his father, Yoshimitsu. Even as he grew older, Yoshimochi proved to be a weak politician, with little influence while in office. His son Yoshikazu died of illness at nineteen years of age, only three years after being named the fifth shogun. However, even during his three years as shogun, Yoshikazu's attentions were elsewhere and could hardly have left much room for governance.¹⁹² The sixth shogun Yoshinori, with his experience as *zasu* (abbot) of Shôren-in temple, no doubt seemed better equipped to be a ruler, but it soon became clear that his rigidity was as great a failing in leadership as the impotence of his two predecessors had been. Furthermore, there was uncertainty over the succession after Yoshikazu's death and some years passed before Yoshinori became shogun.¹⁹³

¹⁹² For example, Yoshikazu spent much of his time traveling to various temples with his mother and father, and he suffered a serious illness only a year before the one that would eventually kill him. In addition to this, he was such a heavy drinker that his father Yoshimochi finally went so far as to command those around him to cease all drinking parties.

¹⁹³ Even though Yoshinori was technically named head of the family at the death of Yoshikazu in 1425, he was not officially named shogun until 1428, after nearly four years had passed. Instead, the fourth shogun Yoshimochi stepped in temporarily, but refused to name a successor, believing that he would have another son. Yoshimochi ultimately died of illness in 1428 without an heir, and so a council of elders was forced to draw lots before the god Hachiman to determine his successor, which is how Yoshinori was selected as shogun.

In addition to the increasing instability among the bakufu leadership in the capital, the Kantô *kubô* were gradually expanding their power in eastern Honshû. Each of the Kantô *kubô* had the political and military capacity to bring more land under the extended control of the Ashikaga bakufu. Further, because this was in most cases a benefit to the bakufu, they were typically ready to send military or monetary support from the capital. But it always came with the threat of revolt, as the brief historical outline of the Ashikaga in Kamakura has illustrated. Each Kantô *kubô* demonstrated a sharp awareness of and willingness to take advantage of moments of weakness among the bakufu in the capital.¹⁹⁴ In addition to this, the close familial ties between the two Ashikaga lines, and the precedent of considering the second Kantô *kubô* Ujimitsu as a serious candidate for shogun, must have made the potential, and surely the appeal, of becoming shogun that much greater for the Kantô *kubô*.

Mochiuji and Yoshinori

Mochiuji, the fourth Kantô *kubô*, also benefited extensively from bakufu support. For example, the fourth shogun Yoshimochi 義持 (1386-1428, r. 1394-1423) sent an army to help Mochiuji put down a revolt in the Kantô region in 1416.¹⁹⁵ But it soon became clear that Mochiuji, too, had intentions for power beyond his office of Kantô *kubô*. After his military success in 1416, Mochiuji proceeded to take a series of small

¹⁹⁴ Perhaps the most severe of these instances is the third Kantô *kubô* Mitsukane plotting against the bakufu on the tails of the Ôei disturbance in 1399. See Table 4 for a summary the major actions of the Kantô *kubô* in their relationship with the Ashikaga bakufu.

¹⁹⁵ When Mitsukane was implicated in the Zenshû disturbance (*Zenshû no ran* 禅秀の乱) of 1416, he fled Kamakura to the home of Imagawa Norimasa 今川範政, but was soon able to return to suppress the uprising with the support that he received from the bakufu under Yoshimochi's rule.

steps in order to establish a system of controlling the eastern provinces. In each case, an adjustment in his rule allowed him to act more independently of the bakufu, particularly in matters of gathering and dispatching armies in the Kantô region. Because of this, he fell into increasingly antagonistic terms with the bakufu. Around 1420, the ruling shogun Yoshimochi was showing concern over Mochiuji's actions, and was beginning to make efforts to check Mochiuji's power.

By the time Yoshinori was shogun, Mochiuji's interactions with the bakufu had deteriorated into little more than a series of confrontations. This placed a significant strain upon Mochiuji's relationship with his Kantô *kanrei*, Uesugi Norizane 上杉憲実, who was laboring in his role as mediator between Mochiuji and Yoshinori.

Matters between the two men were so difficult that when in 1438 Mochiuji held a coming-of-age ceremony for his eldest son,¹⁹⁶ he willfully overlooked the tradition of adopting one character of the reigning shogun's era name for his son's adulthood name (*genko*), which was an open insult to Yoshinori, who was of course known for his quick temper and severe disciplinary measures. To make matters worse, when Norizane warned Mochiuji against so blatantly antagonizing Yoshinori, Mochiuji attempted to have Norizane assassinated for daring to speak out about the issue. Yoshinori, thinking perhaps that he had been presented with an ideal opportunity to suppress Mochiuji once and for all, decided to protect Norizane, and in kind, sent out an order to a handful of generals in the eastern provinces to capture and kill Mochiuji. As it turned out, there was any number of men under Mochiuji who were willing to betray him, and realizing this, Mochiuji

¹⁹⁶ The childhood name of Mochiuji's eldest son was Ken'ômaru 賢王丸.

retreated into the Buddhist priesthood.¹⁹⁷ However, Yoshinori refused to yield, and Norizane and his men soon overtook Mochiuji at Eian-ji temple in Musashi. On 1439.2.10, Mochiuji committed suicide at the order of Yoshinori, and the event was remembered as the Eikyô disturbance.¹⁹⁸

A death sentence for flaunting a naming tradition seems shockingly severe, and the determination with which the shogun sought the destruction of Mochiuji's entire family line resonates with Yoshinori's reputation as a vicious ruler.¹⁹⁹ But there is nonetheless a larger context in which to understand Yoshinori's response, as cruel as it may have been. In the most basic sense, Mochiuji showed no inclination for recognizing Yoshinori's authority from the beginning of Yoshinori's rule as shogun. It began with Mochiuji's refusal to send his congratulations to Yoshinori upon his inauguration as shogun. This is in no small part because Mochiuji had hoped to be named shogun after Yoshimochi's death in the first month of 1428, but the slights continued. Even when the era name changed from Shôchô 正長 (1428.4.27-1429.9.5) to Eikyô 永享 (1429.9.5-1441.2.17) to reflect Yoshinori's rule, Mochiuji refused to use the Eikyô era name in his correspondence with any members of the bakufu in the capital. Also, there were multiple

¹⁹⁷ Mochiuji took the tonsure at Shômyô-ji Temple 称名寺 in Kanesawa, adopting the name Dôkei 道継.

¹⁹⁸ The Eikyô disturbance (*Eikyô no ran* 永享の乱 1438-1439) was in all purposes the end of the Kantô *kubô* post and its functions. Yûki Ujitomo, a daimyo of the northern provinces, rallied behind Mochiuji's sons to revenge their father's suicide. This continued until the early months of 1441, and ultimately, Yoshinori determined to leave the Kantô without a *kubô*.

¹⁹⁹ This reputation is perhaps at times exaggerated, but not unfounded, and the hatred and fear with which much of the populace regarded him was surely the underlying reason for his assassination in 1441. See discussion of Yoshinori's character and method of rule, below.

instances in which Mochiuji made new appointments for the priests of the Gozan temples in Kamakura without first consulting Yoshinori.²⁰⁰

Again, the above appears to be a list of minor insubordinations, lacking the immediacy of military strategy, as in the case of the third Kantô *kubô* Mitsukane's alliance with Ôuchi Yoshihiro, for example. But the very practice of conducting affairs through ritualized actions that followed centuries-old examples of precedent functioned to provide stability to the sociopolitical structure, most importantly for those in power to maintain their positions of authority.²⁰¹ Because of this, matters of precedent were carefully documented and maintained as a means of recognizing and showing deference to the authority of the ruler, whether it was shogun or emperor.²⁰² The insubordinations acted out by Mochiuji appear trivial by the standards of 21st century Euro-American cultures. But it is precisely their symbolism that gave the acts such vital importance, and which made such a serious threat to Yoshinori's authority when Mochiuji purposefully disregarded that series of precedents.

²⁰⁰ In most cases, this consultation was purely a formality, as it was very seldom that the shogun would alter the choices made by the Kantô *kubô*. The Gozan temples of Kamakura (*Kamakura gozan* 鎌倉五山) were designated by Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (the third shogun), and are the Kenchô-ji 建長寺, Engaku-ji 円覚寺, Jufuku-ji 寿福寺, Jôchi-ji 浄智寺, and Jômyô-ji 浄妙寺 temples of the Rinzaï sect.

²⁰¹ As *Solace of Words* demonstrates, Nijô Yoshimoto was an expert on precedent, and used his knowledge to his advantage both as an advisor to his superiors (including Ashikaga Takauji and Emperor Go-Kôgon), and also as a way to justify and support the Northern Court's claims to power. See Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

²⁰² An example of shoguns respecting precedent in this was can be found in the act of ordering an imperial poetic anthology (*chokusenshû*), which had always been the domain of the emperor alone. Even when the Ashikaga shoguns, from Takauji to Yoshinori, clearly had the practical authority to make the order themselves, they invariably went through the process of requesting the emperor to make the order instead.

In a practical sense, it is appropriate to assume that Yoshinori took it upon himself to travel to Suruga province in order to carefully inspect the conditions of the provinces to the east of the capital, particularly to determine whether Mochiuji's symbolic confrontations were a sign of a military confrontation to come. There were probably even strategic reasons for Yoshinori staying at the home of Imagawa Norimasa, the shugo of Suruga province, say, to secure the loyalty of an ally should Yoshinori find himself in need of military support against Mochiuji. But the journals, which focus solely on the sightseeing aspects of the trip to Fuji, are a reminder that even then the mountain stood for what was then imagined as the whole of Japan.

Therefore, just as Mochiuji's misconduct was largely symbolic in nature, it is fitting that in 1432 Yoshinori's response was to make a journey to view Mount Fuji, a prominent feature in the landscape symbolic of the greater political entity that was united under the figure of the emperor in name, and by the shogun in practice. This context throws Yoshinori's poem, cited above, into a new light:

The morning was quite cold, and so the Shogun donned a white cotton cap, and at that very moment, there was hovering over the peak of Fuji a single cloud, and it looked just like a cap:

ware narazu	I can't help but think
kesa wa Suruga no	this morning in Suruga
Fuji no ne ni	over the peak of Fuji
watabôshi to mo	there is a cloud
nareru kumo kana	that makes for it a cotton cap

Gyôkô
(*Fuji-Viewing* 472)

The phrase *ware narazu*, "I can't help but [think]," is sometimes applied to inanimate objects or elements of nature to distinguish them from the poet. In that sense, Yoshinori draws a direct parallel between himself and the mountain. If a cap protects the head of the

wearer, the cloud “cap” over Fuji suggests that the mountain, symbolic of Japan, is contained within the protective authority of the shogun. This poem also gives the sense of distinguishing the cloud that resembles a cap in contrast to the cap that Yoshinori wears on his own head. This has the effect of comparing Yoshinori to Mount Fuji, but also of going beyond this parallel to making Yoshinori the figurehead to which Mount Fuji aspires to compare itself.

Yoshinori as Poet

As this example suggests, Yoshinori’s poetic inclinations had also been nurtured by his early life as abbot of the temples of Mount Hie. Having the experience of being in charge of such a widespread institution as the Tendai temple complex in the Capital, which depended upon carrying out rituals strictly so that other members of society would follow suit, it is little surprise that Yoshinori in particular would approach his role of shogun with the belief that ritual was the source of his political power.²⁰³

As shogun and member of the court, Yoshinori maintained the traditions of the Ashikaga line, by participating actively as a poet and patron of the arts, just as Yoshimitsu, Yoshiakira, and Takauji had. But also like his forebears, Yoshinori tends to be painted at the worst as uncouth, or at the very least, awkwardly rough around the edges in comparison to the aristocrats who surrounded him. It has proven difficult to shed the stereotype of the “warrior” ruler who attempted poetry with only middling results and

²⁰³ This is not specific to Yoshinori, however, as attention to ritual was a primary source of political authority for all of the emperors and shoguns alike, particularly during the Nanbokuchô period, when the political rivalries required those trying to assert their power to attend to ritual in minute detail. See Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

who used his money and power to attach his name to great artists of their times, primarily practitioners of Noh, *sarugaku* dance, *renga*, and *waka*. To the contrary, the Ashikaga had established themselves as a line of literary practitioners from early on, and they valued being able to trace their line of descent to Minamoto no Yoshiie in the late Heian period.²⁰⁴ Takauji and his son Yoshiakira were both active poets and supporters of the literary milieu in the capital.²⁰⁵ The third shogun Yoshimitsu, alone, is unquestionably considered to be a great patron of arts and culture. Because his time as shogun represents the height of power for the Ashikaga hegemony, it is fair to presume that his reputation as a patron of the arts matches that as a politician.

Yoshinori indeed followed in the footsteps of the Ashikaga shoguns before him and was active in the literary milieu. From 1428, the year that he was officially named shogun, he held poetry events among the bakufu. He rebuilt a family shrine dedicated to a goddess of poetry, the Shin-Tamatsushima Shrine 新玉津島社, and held before its main hall a *hōraku*, which involves making offerings of poems composed on the site of the

²⁰⁴ Minamoto no Yoshiie 源義家 (1039-1106) has a poem on Nakoso [Come Not] Barrier. *Senzaishū* (1180), Spring II no. 103:

“Composed on the flowers scattering at Nakoso Barrier, when he was traveling through Michinoku:

fuku kaze wo
Nakoso no seki to
omoedomo
michi mo seni chiru
yamazakura kana

The blowing wind
would not come to Nakoso Barrier
or so one would think
but the road is narrowed
by a blanket of mountain cherry
blossoms

Minamoto no Yoshiie
(*SNKBT* 10: 40)

²⁰⁵ See in particular Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

shrine, before its gods.²⁰⁶ He also sponsored several poetry events of *waka* and *renga* alike, including *One Hundred Poems in Eikyô* 永享百首, *Thirty Poems before Shin Tamatsushima Shrine* 新玉津島社百首, and *Ten Thousand Renga Verses in One Day at Kitano Shrine* 北野社一日万句連歌, among others. Masayo and Gyôkô also honored Yoshinori by including 18 of his *waka* in the *Shinshoku kokinshû*, although this level of recognition was of course to be expected considering the circumstances.

However, in Yoshinori's case, the broad skepticism with which contemporary scholarship views the shogun's dedication to or competency in literary pursuits is compounded by his volatile character. More often than not, it also crosses over into skepticism about his competency as a ruler.²⁰⁷ For example, Carter writes,

Perhaps because of Yoshinori's feelings of inadequacy as a courtier, he rarely acted in serious courtly matters without first consulting the annals for precedents to support his decisions. In all things he sought to justify himself by imitating great figures of the past, in particular his father Yoshimitsu, whom he saw not only as a great military leader but also as a great courtier. (Carter 1996, 42)

Yoshinori's repugnant character has led to some exaggerations in his portrayal as an incompetent participant in court culture. As Nijô Yoshimoto has shown, vigilant attention to court precedent indicates one's awareness of the power gained from following precedent carefully and accurately, rather than feelings of inadequacy. To be sure, there

²⁰⁶ The first and second shoguns Takauji and Yoshiakira also had close ties with the Shin Tamatsu-shima shrine, and carried out reconstructions of the building itself, in addition to holding poetic events there, including *hôraku*, poetic offerings to the gods. See Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

²⁰⁷ He had a notoriously quick temper, and to displease him in even seemingly minor ways could invite disciplinary measures that ranged from exclusion at court to a death sentence. Yoshinori ordered the deaths of some eighty high-ranking courtiers and warriors during his time as shogun, an unprecedented number in almost all of the history of Japanese rulership.

might be a sense of anxiety, considering the fact that precisely following precedent would not be so important if one's position of power was more secure. But again, this is a result of the historical context in which active and potential rivals were a continual threat, both in Yoshimoto's time as in Yoshinori's.

The two poems in response to Yoshinori's, by Gyôkô and Masayo, only work to magnify the parallel between Yoshinori and Fuji that Yoshinori had introduced in his "cotton cap" (*watabôshi*) poem. Gyôkô's poem reads,

In response [to the Shogun, I wrote]:

Fuji no ne ni	The cloud hanging
kakareru kumo mo	over Fuji's peak
waga kimi no	is indeed like that cotton cap
chiyo wo itadaku	bestowing upon my lord
watabôshi ka mo	a thousand years

Gyôkô
(*Fuji-Viewing* 472)

The conceit in this poem emphasizes the resemblance between the clouds on Fuji and the shogun's cap, and so further builds a glorified genealogy for Yoshinori. This lends to the shogun the ageless quality of Fuji itself, but there is also a sense that the mountain takes a cloud in order to make that cloud resemble the cap that is perched upon Yoshinori's head.

Again, there is in Masayo's *Journey to Fuji* the following poem on the same topic:

A cloud hanging over the high peak of Fuji looked just like a cotton cap,
and so we entertained that thought in some poems:

kumo ya sore	Is it a cloud, up there?
yuki wo itadaku	the snowy peak
Fuji no ne mo	of Fuji
tomo ni oisenu	shows no age either—
watabôshi kana	the cotton cap on my lord's brow

Masayo
(*Journey* 605)

The idea here is that both Fuji and the shogun are ageless. This is true despite the snow, which in the case of any place but Fuji, the “mountain that knows no time” would suggest the winter season.²⁰⁸ In the case of the shogun the whiteness of the snow, paired with the winter season, would normally suggest the whiteness of old age, but this is clearly negated in the poem. Masayo’s poem makes the same visual comparison between man and mountain, and again gestures toward placing Yoshinori in a hierarchical relationship above Mount Fuji in the poem’s grammatical structure. In this case, the poem suggests that the peak of Fuji receives the purifying snowfall as though from the gods, and in this way resembles the shogun, rather than the other way around.

Indeed it is almost impossible to come away from the three diaries without an overwhelming sense of overt flattery in the poetry on the part of Yoshinori’s men. Another example that feels particularly obvious is a poetic exchange between Gyôkô and Yoshinori as they gaze upon Mount Fuji, which Gyôkô records in his journal. The exchange begins with a poem by Yoshinori:

Among the many poems that were composed at this place was the Shogun’s poem:

mizu ha ikade
omoishirubeki
kotonoha mo
oyobanu Fuji to
kanete kikishi wo

Had I not seen it
how could I have recognized it?
Peerless Fuji
I had always heard that it is
inexpressible with words

Yoshinori
(Fuji Viewing 471)

²⁰⁸ See the “Mountain that knows no time” (*toki shiranu*) from *Ise monogatari*, provided in translation below.

This poem is by the shogun, and combines a speechless awe with his immediate recognition of this famous landmark, which he has ostensibly only imagined through the mediation of poems or other representations. The idea is twofold: that one can know a famous place from words because it is so striking and recognizable, and that its visage is so splendid that one is compelled to describe it even if words will never suffice. Gyôkô's response to Yoshinori's poem follows immediately²⁰⁹:

In reply to this [I recited]:

kotonoha wo	I presume to add
ôgikasanete	to those splendid words
Fuji no ne no	as the layered snow on Fuji's peak
yuki mo ya kimi ga	so, too, will your reign
chiyo wo tsumurashi	build for one thousand ages

Gyôkô
(Fuji Viewing 471)

The verbs “to layer” (*kasanu* 重ね) and “to build” or “to amass” (*tsumu* 積み) are associated words (*engo*). In addition to adding his own words, in the form of a poem, to the shogun's as a response, Gyôkô's poem equates the depth of the snow on Fuji to a prayer for the longevity of Yoshinori's reign. This poem that Gyôkô composes in

²⁰⁹ Imagawa Norimasa also composes a poem in response to Yoshinori's poem (*mizu ha ikade*), both of which is recorded in *Diary of Viewing Fuji*:

kimi ga mimu	It has been in preparation for this day,
kefu no tame ni ya	when you would look upon it:
mukashi yori	the white snow of Fuji
tsumori wa someshi	began to pile in drifts
Fuji no shirayuki	from times long past

Imagawa Norimasa
(*Viewing* 618)

The syntax here is: “Is it for the sake of this day when my lord would look upon it, that from long ago, they began to pile in drifts, the white snows on Fuji?”

response to Yoshinori's would not be readily comprehensible on its own, and not simply because it is composed as a response. The topic of the poem itself is Gyôkô's hesitation to reply to the words of his lord, presumably because they are so magnificent.

Gyôkô's poetry reflects his careful adherence to a classic Nijô style. Where his best poems are clear and subdued, and elegant in their formality, his poetry can tend to be pedantic and exhibit a concern for the official world of his court relationships. This stiffness shows through in many of the verses of his *Diary of Viewing Fuji*, including the one above. A perpetual criticism of the three *Fuji Viewing* diaries is that they all take an overtly political tone. The poetry that Gyôkô and his peers wrote to honor Yoshinori came across as excessively flattering and repetitive, with great dependence upon diction and the quick wit of wordplay. This characteristic of their poetic composition has contributed much to the view of the shogun as surrounded by a crowd of sycophants.

Incidentally, Yoshinori's poems in the *Fuji Viewing* set of journals use some wordplay but less so, and in comparison are more dignified in their simplicity. In part this is because wordplay is cleverness, and so it does not necessarily befit a ruler. But another reason is that Yoshinori was composing poetry in a style that is more easily recognizable for its focus on describing the landscape, a style that can be read as aesthetic, rather than using the more ritualized language of honoring a ruler or deity, which tends to come across as stiff and political, and as a result lacking in the universal pleasure of describing a beautiful scene.

This is not to say that there was no sycophantic behavior in Yoshinori's court. To the contrary, Yoshinori seems to have acted upon his emotions so frequently that some degree of flattery was most likely the only way to survive as one of his retainers. And

there is little doubt that because of this, the literary milieu (*kadan* 歌壇) suffered under Yoshinori's rule. It is clear that Yoshinori surrounded himself with his favorites and all but banished the others. This is particularly evident in the makeup of the *Shinshoku kokinshû* (1439), the imperial poetic anthology that Emperor Go-Hanazono ordered upon the request and sponsorship of Yoshinori.²¹⁰ This was the last of the twenty-one imperial anthologies. Yoshinori, following the example of his Ashikaga predecessors Takauji, Yoshiakira, and Yoshimitsu, was the driving force behind the anthology's compilation, and requesting Emperor Go-Hanazono to make the official order was little more than a courtesy, or perhaps better viewed as Yoshinori's careful observance of precedent.

In fact, yet another of the theories about the motivation behind Yoshinori's trip to Suruga province to view Mount Fuji is connected to the importance with which he viewed this poetic collection. Just as his grandfather Yoshiakira had made a pilgrimage to pray for the successful completion of the imperial poetic collection he was sponsoring, it is entirely possible that Yoshinori would have undertaken a journey in order to pray at various temples and shrines, as well as to perform a type of physical asceticism as an offering for his future goal of sponsoring an imperial poetic anthology to be realized. Regardless, almost exactly a year after returning from the trip to view Fuji, in the eighth month of 1433, Yoshinori approached Go-Hanazono with his request for work on the poetic anthology to begin. Around that same time, the shogun appointed Gyôkô as a second officer of the Bureau of Poetry (*Wakadokoro* 和歌所). In this capacity Gyôkô

²¹⁰ The reigning emperor during Yoshinori's time as shogun was Emperor Hikohito 彦仁, who is now better known by his posthumous name, Go-Hanazono 後花園 (1419-1470, r. 1428-1464).

served as the librarian of the *Shin shoku kokinshû*, under the direction of the chief editor Asukai Masayo.

Yoshinori made his request in 1433, but the collection took six years to complete.²¹¹ This is in part because any poets associated too closely with the Reizei style of poetry were not invited to participate. This favoritism in Yoshinori's support for a narrow selection of poets in court is also reflected in the seeming boom in literary production after his assassination in the summer of 1441. There appears to be a dramatic jump in the volume and variety of poetic texts produced in the late 1440s and 1450s, especially by poets associated with the Reizei school.²¹² The Reizei was a rival poetic house to the more conservative Nijô school, which was strongly favored by Yoshinori, and therefore adopted by the official leaders of the literary milieu, including Gyôkô and Asukai Masayo. This increase in literary production suggests that after 1441 certain poets, including Shôtetsu and Shinkei, were no longer under close scrutiny or outright censure by the volatile Yoshinori.

But whatever the opinions of Yoshinori held by the men during their journey to view Fuji, their poems are first and foremost a formal recognition of Yoshinori's political authority, composed in the language of ritual. At their heart, the waka establish a communication between Yoshinori and the Fuji gongen, the deity of that mountain. Simply put, the verses are evidence that Gyôkô, Masayo, and the others were deifying Yoshinori. In most, if not all, other cases before Yoshinori's time, the emperor is the only

²¹¹ The original manuscript was destroyed in a fire not long after, but a replacement was made in 1447 (Bun'an 4).

²¹² See below, Table 3: "Members of the Literary Milieu During and After Yoshinori's Rule."

figure who is deified. But in the *Fuji Viewing* journals, this reverence has undoubtedly shifted to the shogun. In this sense, the waka are not composed in order to be enjoyed aesthetically, but entirely to be an appropriate response for the occasion in which it was composed.

Clouds in the *Fuji Viewing* Travel Journals

The cotton cap poems are also interesting on another level, in that they are representative of the use of clouds and other atmospheric imagery as a recurring literary motif. The cloud over the peak of Mount Fuji plays an important role in identifying the figure of the shogun Yoshinori with an important symbol for the realm. Similarly, other descriptions of clouds and the atmosphere in these diaries do more than to embellish otherwise mundane events, or to report the weather on a given day. Clouds obscure a view of the famous place while at the same time representing a concrete link to distant places, past events, or famous literary works. Atmospheric imagery in these travel journals lends material weight to the layered cultural and social history of Mount Fuji, and works in multiple ways to arrange and manipulate geography and history (space and time) in a way that supports the political authority of the travelers, and particularly that of the shogun Yoshinori.

This use of atmospheric imagery is consistent throughout all three diaries. As a motif, clouds and the weather are especially conspicuous in Gyôkô's diary, starting from the very first lines:²¹³

²¹³ One reason why it is such a noticeable motif is because Gyôkô's diary includes longer and more detailed *kotobagaki* prose introductions to the poems throughout.

The winds of the Seven Regions [*shichidô*] have calmed, the waves of the Eight Islands have grown quiet, and the guards of the Barriers have forgotten about locking their gates. There is nothing to disrupt the comings and goings of travelers, and all the people are willing to break down the border mounds between their fields, and wherever one stays, it is clear that we live in an age of great ease and peace of mind.

In these circumstances, [Yoshinori] followed through with his plans that he should see Mount Fuji, and in the fourth year of Eikyô [1432], around the tenth day of the ninth month, he determined to set out. It had been the time of the autumn rains, which had continued to fall for days without a clearing between the clouds to be seen. But in the early hours before our departure, the sky suddenly cleared, and its colors mellowed, and we rejoiced in the timing.

ôgi miru	I lift my eyes to look up
miyo no hikari mo	the light of my lord's reign
kefu wa naho	brightly visible
sora ni shirarete	across the sky today
haruru ame kana	in the clearing rain

Gyôkô
(*Fuji-Viewing* 458)

In this introductory passage, it is clear that the condition of the skies is working as a metaphor for the state of the land through which the party is traveling. The wind and waves that have become calm both recall the roughness of past conflicts, as well as assert the political success of the Ashikaga bakufu. Upon feeling a sense of security in this calmness that has brought such universal “peace of mind,” Gyôkô suggests that Yoshinori has complete confidence in his control over the political state, and is therefore free to leave his official post in the capital for an excursion. Peace in this case is essentially military and political security. This introductory passage projects the desires of Yoshinori and his men onto the landscape. This is because a ruler does not want war, in the sense that war is a threat to that ruler’s power.

The introductory passage also demonstrates an interesting view of the borders between provinces as open. Because there is peace, there is little need to lock the doors of

the barriers. This reflects what appears to be an increasingly practical political view of the landscape that is beginning to emerge in the travel writing of the Muromachi period. The place names of the *Fuji Viewing* journals are comprised of a diverse mixture of types. This is in contrast to a great number of travel diaries of the medieval period. For example, the place names in Sôkyû's *Souvenirs for the Capital* are all *utamakura*. Nijô Yoshimoto's *Solace of Words at Ojima* does include a handful of place names that clearly fall beyond the category of *utamakura* or *meisho*. This is of course out of necessity for the circumstances of his journey.

As described in *Solace of Words at Ojima*, Nijô Yoshimoto spent the majority of his time with Emperor Go-Kôgon's party in Tarui and Ojima for the protection of their hosts there, and because of plans to meet Takauji before returning to the capital. But Yoshimoto demonstrates a careful consideration of what it means for a place to be famous in the literary canon, and there is more than one passage that is built around the question of what makes a place famous, and how the traveling poet is best able to experience or at the very least acknowledge this.²¹⁴ For example, at Noji no Shinohara, Nijô Yoshimoto writes:

I went on in this way, and reached a place called Noji no Shinohara, or something of the sort.²¹⁵ My ears recognized the name as a famous name, but in truth, this was the first time I had ever set foot in this place.

tsuyukesa wo
omohi wo kuran
hito mogana
Noji no Shinohara
shinobu miyako ni

Would there was someone
concerned about my hardships
amidst the dew
at Noji no Shinohara
I long for the capital

²¹⁴ See discussion of Mount Moru in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

²¹⁵ Literally, the name means "bamboo-grass fields along the wild trail," and thus reflects Yoshimoto's distaste for being on the road in the middle of nowhere.

Nijô Yoshimoto
(*Kuchizusami* 168)

In the prose passage is a familiar expression of the dissonance between feeling a close familiarity with the place name, but not with the place, whether this refers to its landscape or its atmosphere. Further, Yoshimoto uses the phrase “or something of the sort” (*tokaya*) after the place name. This emphasizes the feeling of unfamiliarity with the site. In the ambiguity of the phrase lies Yoshimoto’s constant awareness of the possibility that he might be mistaken in matching the famous name to the landscape that he views. There is a sense of nonchalance in the phrase as well. With the repetition of the phrase, the reader begins to sense that Yoshimoto, in his diary, is not particularly invested in the place for its own sake, but purely for the link it holds to the past. The poem is a perfunctory nod to the ages-old practice of composing a poem upon reaching or spotting from the road a famous place.

Likewise, a large number of place names that are discussed in the *Fuji Viewing* journals are not famous in the literary canon. But these diaries differ from Yoshimoto’s in that the *Fuji Viewing* journals afford little importance to the status of a place name, literary or otherwise. Many of the places are towns, villages, and stations along the Tōkaidō road. Each place is treated in roughly the same way—if the diary mentions a place name, it is to introduce a poem about it, regardless of what name it is. And in most cases, the poem uses the sounds in the place name as a *kakekotoba* (pivot word) in order to make a wordplay with the meaning of that name.

There are a few cases in which a passage discusses the history of a place in more detail. For example, when the party stopped to make an offering of poetry before the god

of Atsuta Shrine in Owari province, Gyôkô remembers the story about Yamato Takeru and his sacred sword, a legend from the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*.

Long ago, when Yamato Takeru no Mikoto came to this region in order to pacify the eastern barbarians [*tô-i seibatsu*], he made a side trip to Ise Shrine. He prayed to Yamato Hime no Mikoto there, and received from her a sacred sword [*reiken*], and this sword is to this day installed in the main hall of Atsuta Shrine. It is due to the strength and power of the gods and the Buddhas that the country is at peace and that it has security.

nao mamore
megumi Atsuta no
miyabashira
tatsu koto ya suki
tabi no yukiki wo

Rich with blessings,
O sacred pillars that stand
supporting Atsuta Shrine
as we set out on our journey
protect our comings and goings

Gyôkô

Azumano no
kusaba wo nagishi
aki no shimo
furite ikuyo no
kimi ga mamori zo

The autumn-frost sword
that pacified the grasses
of the Eastern Plains
still falls through the ages
protective amulet of our lord

Gyôkô

(*Fuji-Viewing* 463-464)

Yamato Takeru is a composite of all of those prince warriors from the ancient legends who consolidated the kingdom that would come to be ruled as Yamato under the imperial line. “Autumn frost” (*aki no shimo* 秋の霜) is an epithet for the legendary sacred sword that Yamato Takeru used to mow down the “grasses” of the Eastern Plains. While this story is literal in the sense that he did this in order to save himself from a fire that had been lit by his enemies to kill him, the grasses are also a metaphor for these so-called barbarians that he was fighting.

Although Yamato Takeru is credited with pacifying these groups and bringing the region into the jurisdiction of what would become the imperial court, the East has always

been a problem for governing from the capital, because of its distance. Strikingly, this story is parallel to the occasion of Yoshinori's journey to Mount Fuji, which he takes in response to the threat of rebellion on the part of the Kantô *kubô*.

In addition, the deity of Ise Shrine is no less than the founding goddess of the Yamato kingdom Amaterasu. It was the shrine's priestess, the princess Yamato Hime no Mikoto, who gave that sacred sword to Yamato Takeru for protection. The story and following poems thus further associate the power of the sacred sword with Yoshinori as the shogun.

On Mount Fuji

In 1350, Priest Sôkyû, too, traveled by Mount Fuji on the journey that he describes in *Souvenirs for the Capital*. It is clear by the prose leading up to his two verses about the famous peak that he already knew the name well:

When I look over at Mount Fuji in the distance, it is shrouded thickly in mist, and I can't see in any way that the mountain knows no season. Reflecting the morning sun, the snow on the tall peak looked exceedingly beautiful—it was as a mirror suspended in the sky, difficult for this brush of mine to put down into words.

toki shiranu
na wo sae komete
kasumu nari
Fuji no takane no
haru no akebono

Even its name
for being oblivious to season
is shrouded in mist:
The high peak of Fuji, hazy in
the dawn light of an early spring

Sôkyû

Fuji no ne no
kemuri no sue wa
taenishi wo
furikeru yuki ya
kiesezaruran

The trail of smoke
over Fuji's peak
has vanished, but
the snow that has fallen
will never disappear

Sôkyû

These verses visualize the physical features of a landscape in an imagery-rich description of the scene in order to communicate the poet's reaction to the scene.²¹⁶ The spring mists thus allow us to read the hazy vision in these two poems as the haze of ignorance and attachment to the material world. The mountain's association with the otherworld, a wild land of spirits of the dead, adds dimension to the smoke and mist that shrouds our view.

The phrase, "the mountain knows no season," which introduces these poems suggests that the mountain, literally, "knows no time." It is an allusion to a poem from the *Tales of Ise* 9:

Although it was the end of the fifth month, Mount Fuji was covered with
a white snowfall

toki shiranu
yama ha Fuji no ne
itsu to te ka
ka no ko madara ni
yuki no fururamu

The mountain that knows no time
Fuji's peak—
what season does it think it is,
that its slopes speckled
with snow like a fawn?

Ariwara no Narihira

To compare it with the mountains in the area, Mount Fuji is as tall as
Mount Hiei piled upon itself twenty-fold, and its shape is that of a salt
cone. (*SNKBZ* 12: 120)

²¹⁶ This passage demonstrates clearly Sôkyû's tendency to thematize the act of naming by using the name Fuji twice in addition to the word "name" (*na* 名) itself. We have seen in Chapter 1 of this dissertation that *Souvenirs* exhibits a deep and consistent attention to the issue of names and naming, especially as a part of identifying the potential of utamakura, seemingly simple place-names, to draw upon the literary history of a place. As such, naming is an important step in the process of traveling to and writing about important places in the Japanese landscape. This is only further supported by the use of the mountain's name, Fuji 富士, as a *kakekotoba* (pivot word) for "nondual" or "peerless" 不二. The latter term suggests of course the Buddhist ideal of nondualism, but we can also understand it in regards to using names—when we name something using a proper noun, we tend to refer to a single thing, and it is the name that distinguishes that thing from all others.

The surreal image of Mount Hiei, a holy center on the outskirts of the Capital, that has been stacked upon itself twenty times over indicates the sacred nature of Mount Fuji. This is only emphasized further in describing its shape as a salt cone. The *Ise* poem, written in the summer fifth month, concludes that the mountain knows no season because of the snow, a symbol of winter. In Sôkyû's poem, he describes a Fuji that is shrouded in mist. Because mist is symbolic of spring in poetry, and this matches the season in which he is traveling, he takes it as an indication that the mountain is experiencing springtime, and so cannot be immune to time.

The multiple readings of a poem are supported and even encouraged by the use of such atmospheric imagery as clouds, mist, haze, and rain. In the Mount Fuji poem of *Souvenirs*, as in others, even when the peak is obscured by mist, smoke or snow, the mountain's name and reputation remain clearly apparent. Weather is a marker of its time. It is closely linked to the seasons, but its constant changing from day to day makes it an important aspect of the traveler's experience of a landscape. As the comparisons in *Solace of Words* and other travel journals have shown, the physical features of a landscape are also changeable, but of course this takes place more slowly and gradually. Using the weather to describe the landscape becomes a way to manifest more concretely the time during which the traveler was there to look at the place. In this sense the attention to atmospherics foregrounds the specific and concrete experience of the traveler at the time. This view is constructed against the backdrop of the place and its sociocultural history.

Descriptions of the Weather in the *Fuji Viewing Journals*

It is not unusual to use weather conditions to reflect the poet's emotional response to a place or a situation. At the River Kakegawa, an utamakura site, Yoshinori and Gyôkô exchange poems. Gyôkô first records the poem composed by Yoshinori:

On the seventeenth day, we departed from the seat of Tôtômi Province
(six *ri* from Hashimoto), and a heavy rain fell, and at a place called
Kakegawa the Shogun composed the poem:

uchiwatasu	As I cross
nami sae sode ni	the Kakegawa River
Kakegawa ya	the waves hang from my sleeves—
itodo nuresou	and soaking them even more,
aki no murasame	the sudden rains of autumn

Yoshinori
(*Fuji-Viewing* 469)

The phrase “hang on my sleeves” (*sode ni kake-*) is a pivot word with the place name, Kakegawa.²¹⁷ The sleeves that are wet from the waves are further drenched by the rain, and by tears, as is implied in the image of an autumn rain. Gyôkô responds to Yoshinori in kind:

And in kind [at Kakegawa], I composed the response:

aki no ame mo	The leaves of words
haruru bakari no	before which the autumn rains
kotonoha wo	are even now clearing
Fuji no ne yori mo	seem even more awesome
takaku koso mire	than the lofty peak of Fuji

Gyôkô
(*Fuji-Viewing* 469)

²¹⁷ Using “hang” *kake-* 懸け as a pivot word was so common that Kakegawa 掛川 was also frequently written as 懸川.

The “words” here refer to the previous poem by the shogun. Gyôkô is saying that Yoshinori’s poetry is more powerful than Fuji itself, since the words have a concrete effect on the movements of the autumn rain. In addition to this, autumn rain, a common metaphor for tears, suggests that the shogun’s poem has brightened Gyôkô’s spirits just as the sky has cleared of clouds.

But in the *Fuji Viewing* diaries, the weather also unquestionably reflects the feelings of the gods. In particular, the atmospheric imagery is a manifestation of the gods’ approval of Yoshinori, and perhaps even their reciprocated awe for him. In the first half of the introductory passage of Gyôkô’s *Diary of Viewing Fuji*, the weather acts as a metaphor for the state of the land through which the party travels. The latter half of that passage describes the weather in a more literal sense. The reader imagines Yoshinori planning this trip to view Fuji, and having to postpone his departure in order to avoid having to travel in the adverse weather of the autumn rains. Nonetheless, it is difficult to imagine the clear sky tinted with the beautiful shining light of the sun without drawing a link to the beneficial influence that Yoshinori’s rule has had upon the land. This feeling is amplified in the poem, in which Gyôkô lifts his eyes, and the reader is suddenly uncertain whether Gyôkô’s poem describes the light of the sun or that of a beloved shogun who has “cleared the rain” with his direction over the land.

In addition to this, when Gyôkô mentions in the introduction that the party “rejoiced in the timing” of the good weather they enjoyed for their departure from the capital, he seems to imply that it is the weather that has conformed to their planned departure date, rather than the opposite. The sudden change in conditions turns out to

have been less a meteorological coincidence than divine approval and support for Yoshinori's intended plans.

This is by no means the only instance of Gyôkô interpreting the conditions of the weather as a sign of divine responses to Yoshinori's actions. Recounting their arrival at Norimasa's home in Suruga on the eighteenth day:

That day, we went on and on, until we arrived at the seat of Suruga Province (five *ri* from Fuji-eda). I remembered with certainty the example, "A distance of one thousand *ri* begins at one's feet, and towering mountains form out of specks of dust." The *shugo* of this province, Imagawa, busily prepared a temporary residence for Yoshinori, and arranged the proper decorations, entertainments, and refreshments, and while he was doing this, I prayed in my heart that the form of Fuji would be cloaked in snow for the Shogun to behold. And indeed, yesterday's rain had fallen on the mountain as snow. Today, the scene of the blanket of pure white snow made it seem as though even the Fuji Gongen had been waiting for the brilliance of Lord Yoshinori, and I felt it was mysterious and awesome. Above the clouds, which stretched long among the mountains layered upon mountains, the spectacle [of the peak of Fuji] in the distance looked as though it sparkled, and it was peerless in its beauty.

shirakumo no
kasanaru yama wo
fumoto nite
magawanu Fuji no
sora ni sayakeki

Rising above
the white clouds
layered at its base
Fuji stands crisp and pure
against the sky

Gyôkô

waga kimi no
takaki megumi ni
tatoete zo
naho ôgimiru
Fuji no shibayama

Seeing it as the exemplar
of the lofty blessings
of my lord
I gaze up with even more awe
at the timbered slopes of Fuji

Gyôkô

(*Fuji-Viewing* 458-459)

Gyôkô writes of making a silent prayer that Mount Fuji will be covered in snow, which is apparently the best possible view for Yoshinori. And as far as he is concerned, the visage

that greeted the party of the mountain adorned in snow was an answer to that prayer. Between this being his first visit to see Fuji, if we are to believe the diaries, and having reached their destination after a long journey, Gyôkô's relief and gratitude for such a desirable but nonetheless uncontrollable reward for the shogun's effort is understandable. As Gyôkô writes, it is as though the Fuji Gongen, an avatar of Buddha, had worked carefully in preparation to receive Yoshinori, just as their host Norimasa had done. In an echo of the sudden transition from clouds and constant rain to clear skies in the opening lines of Gyôkô's diary, the fresh snowfall that welcomes Yoshinori becomes a metaphor for political success and influence.

Another function of clouds and mist is to obscure the object of the poet's vision. When they pass by Mount Sayanonaka, which is another *utamakura* site, Gyôkô records a poem by Yoshinori.

At Mount Sayanonaka, the Shogun composed the poem:

na ni shi oeba	It is just like its name—
hiru koete dani	even when I cross in daylight
Fuji mo mizu	Fuji is not visible
akisame kuraki	and the autumn rain is dark at
Sayanonaka yama	Mount Sayanonaka

Yoshinori
(*Fuji-Viewing* 469)

The literal meaning of the place name, Mount Sayanonaka, is something like “Mount Midnight,” in which the word “night” (*ya* or *yo* 夜) is combined with the prefix *sa-*.²¹⁸

The phrase *saya no naka* means the middle of the night, and suggests the darkness of a

²¹⁸ Nearly a century earlier, Sôkyû wrote about Mount Sayanonaka in *Souvenirs for the Capital*, and apparently went to great lengths to determine the precise pronunciation of the name as *Saya-no-naka* or *Sayo-no-naka* 小夜の中山.

night with no moon. Hence, Yoshinori's poem that likens his attempts to see Mount Fuji to looking in darkness.

Further, in depicting autumn rains at night, Yoshinori is also likely making an association between the word *sayo* with the rains of late autumn (*shigure* 時雨), as in a poem by Priest Man'i, a *monzeki* of the Tendai Shôgo-in temple active in the mid-Muromachi period, whose poem appears in *Shinzoku kokinshû* 新続古今集 (1439)

Winter, no. 616:

kikiwaburu
nezame no toko no
sayoshigure
furu hodo yori mo
nururu sode kana

I hear it and lament
upon my wakeful bed,
the autumn rains at night—
my sleeves are more soaked
than by the rain alone

Man'i 満意
(NWD)

More than matching the seasonal words of the poem to the time during which he travels, Yoshinori expresses disappointment at not being able to see Mount Fuji, the object of his journey.

In general, Gyôko echoes these feelings of sadness from Yoshinori's poem when he composes his response:

And, at the same place [Mount Sayanonaka] I responded:

amakumo no
yoso ni hedatete
Fuji no ne wa
saya ni mo miezu
Sayanonaka yama

The rain clouds
are spreading across the distance
the peak of Fuji
is not visible now, nor at night
Mount Sayanonaka

Gyôkô
(*Fuji-Viewing* 470)

The peak of Fuji is separated by the rain clouds, and not clearly visible, as the midnight view of Mount Sayanonaka. Considering that the gaze is an agent of ownership and

order, as in Yoshiakira's diary, *Record of a Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi*, then these poems by Yoshinori and Gyôkô represent a failure, even if a small one.

Dwelling on their inability to see, even to express disappointment, seems at first to be counterproductive. But let us return to the poems Yoshinori and his party composed during their extended viewing party at the home of Norimasa:

shirakumo no	While layers of white clouds
kasanaru yama wo	cover the mountain base
fumoto nite	peerlessly crisp and pure
magawanu Fuji no	against the sky
sora ni sayakeki	the peak of Fuji

Gyôkô
(*Fuji-Viewing* 471)

The peak itself is not obscured by the clouds, which remain at the base. That its form is “unmistakable” (*magawanu* 紛わぬ) suggests the rarity of such a view of the peak. This visibility, because it is so rare, is considered a boon, and the auspiciousness of the event is reflected over and over again in the poems that the party composes while gazing upon the mountain.

Additionally, the deliberate emphasis on clouds obscuring Fuji's base has the effect of making it a grander view. The image this creates is the crisp outline of the peak resting upon a cloud pedestal. This representation heightens the sense of Fuji as a sacred mountain. There are almost countless examples in the cultural production of medieval Japan and earlier of making a thing or being sacred by purposefully obscuring the view of it. For example, Yamamoto Yûko has argued convincingly that the bodies emperors and deities, and particularly their faces, were purposely obscured in visual representations of these figures (Figure 13). This is the effect in the above poem, emphasized by the play on the name Fuji 富士 with “peerless” or “nondual” (*fuji* 不二), which suggests both the

mountain's foremost position as an important place, as well as its sacredness in its nondual nature.

This increases the sacral power of the mountain, which remains hidden because of its dazzling power. But an obscured view also allows for interpretation. In short, the clouds and mist become a gap requiring the viewer to supplement with his imagination in place of being unable to see. This is related to acknowledging the impossibility of knowing or representing a concept or a scene. In this way, the clouds can designate an otherworldly space. It can become a blank canvas upon which the aura, or the collective consciousness of a famous place, is inscribed.

Finally, in terms of the travel journal specifically, clouds in fact facilitate access to an object of movement or vision. That is, a cloud works to contract the space between the traveler and his destination. Visually, clouds simplify the road by making a *michiyuki*—that is, the space between famous places become portions obscured by clouds, as in a painting. As such, they make that space between the places abstract and general, in contrast to the specific details about the places. The clouds also abbreviate those spaces between, so that the traveler can simply skip from one place to the next with the speed and ease of reading the names on a list.

Constructions of the Land

It is clear that the use of clouds and atmospheric imagery in the *Fuji Viewing* diaries contribute to descriptions and shaping of the landscape. The diaries are also notable for the way they construct the land in other ways. Take, for example, the way in which Gyôkô records the distance that the party travels on each leg of the trip. In several

of the passages from Gyôkô, the prose passage begins by listing the number of *ri* the party had traveled to reach the place in question from their previous stop. For example, when they depart from the seat of Tôtômi Province, Gyôkô includes a marginal note when he writes, “On the seventeenth day, we departed from the seat of Tôtômi Province (six *ri* from Hashimoto)” (*Fuji-Viewing* 469). On the following day, when they leave Fuji-eda, Gyôkô makes a similar note: “On the eighteenth, we left our lodgings in Fuji-eda (eleven *ri* from the provincial seat of Tôtômi)” (*Fuji-Viewing* 470). This is a regular pattern in the prose passages of Gyôkô’s journal.

Finally, in the passage from Gyôkô that details their arrival at the seat of Suruga province after leaving their previous stop at Fuji-eda, he writes,

That day, we went on and on, until we arrived at the seat of Suruga Province (five *ri* from Fuji-eda). I remembered with certainty the example, “A distance of one thousand *ri* begins at one’s feet, and towering mountains form out of specks of dust.”²¹⁹

This active measurement of the land is one of the many ways in which the travel journal constructs the country that is traversed. This is even more so because they record it as *ri* covered, and viewed, rather than anticipating the distance by recording the number of *ri* that they must travel until they reach their desired destination for each day’s travel. It is as though the party accumulates land as they continue to cross through it, every new step adding to the territory of the shogun.

The phrase, “A distance of one thousand *ri* begins at one’s feet, and towering mountains form out of specks of dust” is in reference to a poem by Bai Juyi. Used here, it recalls a poem that Gyôkô had composed earlier in trip, at Mount Ôiwa.

²¹⁹ This passage is provided in full, above.

On the fifteenth day, when we went by the base of a mountain called Mount Ôiwa, we saw an old temple. They said that the principal object of worship was Kannon Bosatsu and so we made our humble dedication:

kimi ga yo wa	My lord's reign will extend
kazu mo shirarenu	for as long as the time it takes
sazare ishi	a myriad of pebbles
no mina Ôiwa no	to form the massive cliffs
yama to naru made	of Mount Ôiwa

Gyôkô
(*Fuji-Viewing* 466-467)

This is another example of a performative utterance giving the impression of constructing the land. In the words of Gyôkô's poem, the mountain appears to take shape literally from scattered pebbles into a towering mountain. In parallel to this, the poem constructs a future in which the realm is constructed into a powerful political unit with a lasting history.

Other ways of constructing notions of the land through performative utterances are to use one or more of the various names for the realm, whether it is Hinomoto 日本 or Yamato 大和, or another name that was in common use at the time. In fact, Gyôkô uses one of these names in the introductory passage when he mentions the Seven Ways (*shichidô* 七道). This is in reference to the grouping of the various provinces into eight larger regions: the Inner Provinces and the Seven Ways. There were the five central provinces surrounding the capital, called the "Inner Provinces" (Kinai 畿内 or "Five Provinces" *Goki* 五畿), and the seven larger segments that were called "Ways" (*dô* 道). Although there were other types regional names that referred to different groupings of provinces, the phrase *Goki – Shichido* (Five Provinces – Seven Ways) was used as a

name for the entire realm, or, the it referred to what was imagined as the “Japan” of that time.²²⁰

While there are examples of other travel journal texts of the medieval eras that measure out the distance traveled, or refer to the realm as a political unit, the *Fuji Viewing* journals begin to depart from other texts in the genre in the types of place names that the diaries list. The party stops in many places that are neither *utamakura* nor *meisho*, if any distinction can be drawn between the two terms.

A *michiyuki* passage, a list of names, is linear, like a thread, or a road. In it, there can essentially be only a linear progression from one item to the next, just as the progression in a *michiyuki* scene from one place name to the next, or the narrative of one event after another. What happens when we imagine these lines intersecting to form a web rather than a single string that extends alone and infinitely straight? This view becomes a closer analogy to that of a map. It is possible that any linear text can take on properties more like a web when the dimensions of the content are added to the form and shape of the text as a material object. It is the descriptions of movement through time and space that add the intricacies of the web to a linear narrative.

These two shapes of narrative are each an important part in almost every example of travel writing. To be sure, there are some passages in which the progression is singular and linear from one point to the next. But this does not rule the narrative. There are examples in many travel journals of a more web-like narrative, in which the traveler backtracks, takes side roads, and wanders, intentionally but without purpose. And this view of a web-like progression through space is matched with a similarly non-linear,

²²⁰ See Introduction of this dissertation for further discussion of this.

multiple, overlapping progression of time, which includes changes in the pace of movement or the passage of time, looking backwards into the historical past, and the custom of recording the events of a journey from after having returned to the starting-point, or having settled elsewhere.

The greatest concern in dealing with *michiyuki* and a type of imagery that is as ubiquitous as clouds and atmosphere is that presenting these motifs as two different examples of ways in which space can be organized seems at first to posit a dichotomy between *michiyuki* and clouds, between linear and non-linear constructions of space. But this is not necessarily the case, even though *michiyuki* resembles a line in many ways. However, because that line is necessarily made of nodes with gaps in between, it is not necessarily entirely linear, in terms of space or time. Another possibility for dealing with that problematic binary distinction of *michiyuki* and clouds as linear and non-linear, respectively, is to simply refuse it from the outset. Even if the roughly sixty travel journals that were written in Japan during the medieval period share many similarities, they also show that there isn't a single format for organizing space, nor was there a homogenous way of thinking about geography and history in the medieval period. The present study narrows the field even further by focusing on travel journals by elite members associated with the Ashikaga bakufu, a group that arguably shared a similar political ideology over the course of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Nonetheless, close reading shows that even among this relatively homogenous group, there was a range of ways to organize geographic space and history. Taking the performative nature of travel and poetic composition, it is clear that each of the travel

journals is the product of a poet-traveler who was experimenting with various ways of organizing and representing the landscape and its contexts.

The previous chapters have shown that in travel writing, the act of naming extends beyond place names to names of people and literary words. As a condensed form of literary allusion, naming can represent an act of literary interpretation. The name acts as the link between the history of a place and the traveling poet. If the famous place—conceived as a liminal space during the process of a journey—allows access to a specific history, then the travel journal format uses that liminal space to construct history and an alternate lineage, or to build a sense of authority through precedent. These interpretations, together with examples from history and precedent, are acts of appropriation with political implications.

The project of constructing a history through the aura of a famous place is a way to suggest an alternate lineage. This is true even in the case of Sôkyû, who we see used the travel journal format to access a prestigious literary lineage as an alternative to his inherited familial or literary lineages, which are not remembered or recorded, but were likely not very prestigious. But this view of the place as a gateway for accessing and constructing a selective version of history is not necessarily a conscious act. Nor is it limited to travelers who are in need of a different lineage; Yoshimoto, for example, could hardly have asked for a better list of literary and political figures to support his own station in life, and yet there is a distinct lineage that takes shape in the text of *Solace of Words at Ojima*. What matters the most here is that the place provides access to a specific set of historical figures, and in conjunction with that, a specific set of information, in the sense of precedent.

In travel writing, the act of naming extends beyond place names to names of people and literary words. And as a condensed form of literary allusion, naming can represent an act of literary interpretation. The name acts as the link between the history of a place and the traveling poet. If the famous place—conceived as a liminal space during the process of a journey—allows access to a specific history, then the travel journal format uses that liminal space to construct history and an alternate lineage, or to build a sense of authority through precedent. These interpretations, together with examples from history and precedent, are acts of appropriation with political implications.

The *Fuji Viewing* diaries by Gyôkô, Masayo, and Norimasa use clouds and atmospheric imagery extensively in descriptions of the journey in order to organize the landscape in a specific way. This contributes to a larger statement of political authority on the part of the shogun Yoshinori. These diaries also share another dominant characteristic in their intensive focus on a single place, Mount Fuji. The mountain was by then already an important site associated with a number of different deities, and it is here used consciously as a way to draw a direct link between Yoshinori and the greater area around it, the larger realm as it was integrated and maintained by bakufu power.

Figures for Chapter 5

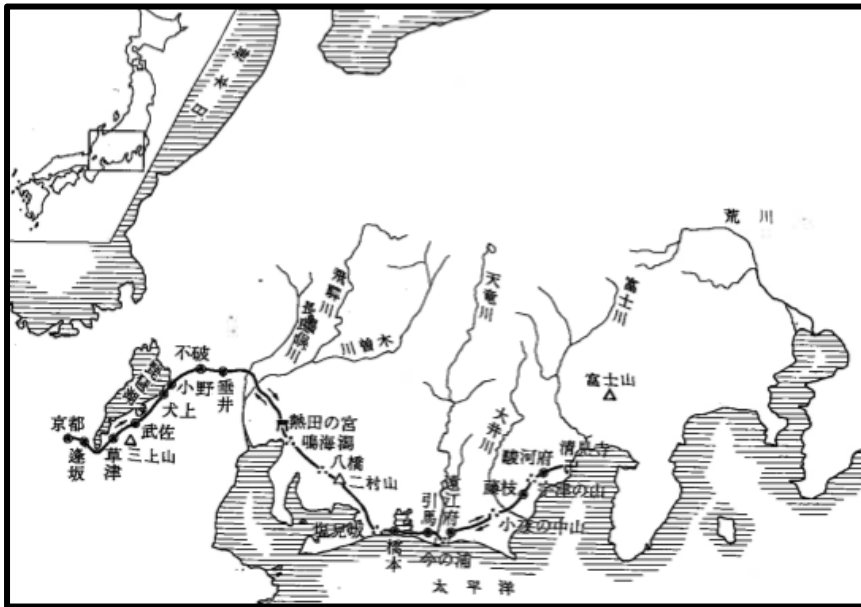


Figure 10: A map of Ashikaga Yoshinori's route in Gyôkô's *Record of Fuji-Viewing* (Fukuda and Plutschow 1975, 113).

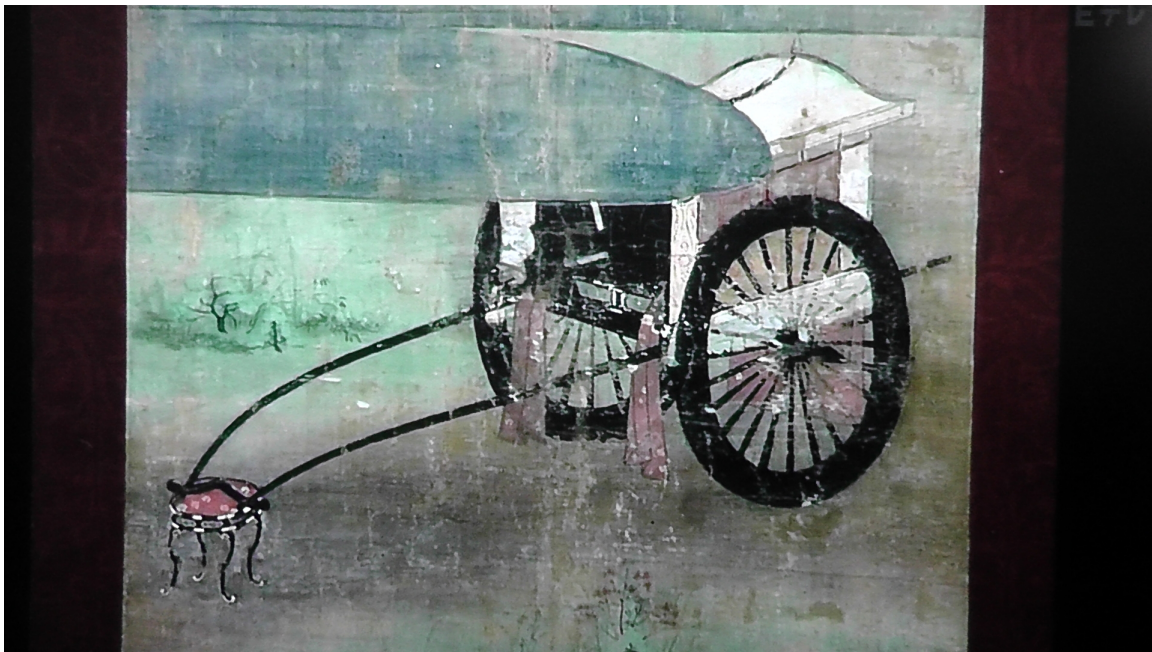


Figure 11: Kasuga *myôjin*, with face obscured by a cloud (Yamada).

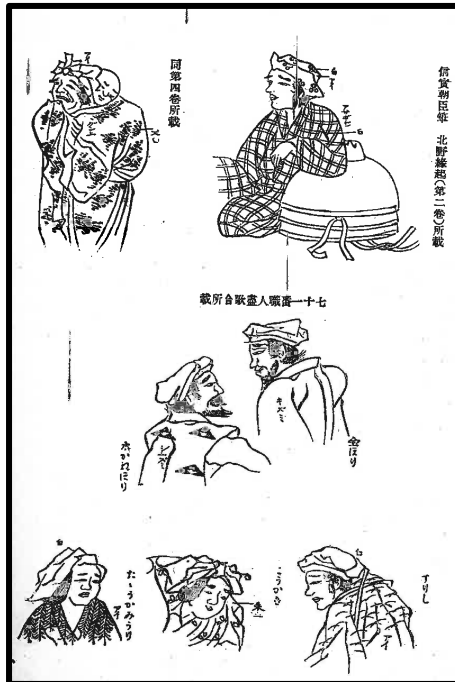


Figure 12: Examples of cotton caps (*watabôshi*) for men (Tanaka).



Figure 13: Examples of cotton caps worn by women (Tanaka).

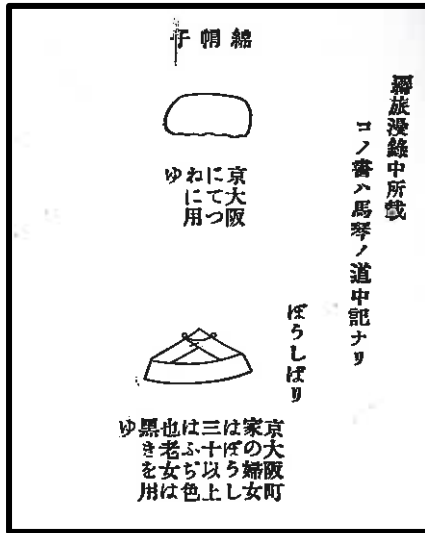


Figure 14: Top: A likely example of a simple cotton cap worn while travelling (Tanaka).

Tables for Chapter 5

Table 2: The First Eight Ashikaga Shoguns

Order	Name and lifetime	Years in office	Notes
1	Takauji 尊氏 1305-1358	1338-1358 Ryakuô 1 – Enbun 3	Designates new era name (Ryakuô). Shogun during the reigns of Emperors Kômyô, Sukô, and Go-Kôgon.
2	Yoshiakira 義詮 1330-1367	1358-1367 Enbun 3 – Jôji 7	Shogun during the reign of Emperor Go-Kôgon.
3	Yoshimitsu 義満 1358-1408	1368-1394 Ôan 1 – Meitoku 5	Designates new era name (Ôan). Shogun during the reigns of Emperors Go-Kôgon, Go-En'yû, and Go-Komatsu. The Northern and Southern Courts are unified under Yoshimitsu's rule.
4	Yoshimochi 義持 1386-1428	1394-1423 Ôei 1 - 30	Designates new era name (Ôei)
5	Yoshikazu 義量 1407-1425	1423-1425 Ôei 30 - 32	
	Yoshimochi		Yoshimochi acts as shogun until his death in 1428; there is a period of just over a year without a named shogun, which is given its own era name (Shôchô)
6	Yoshinori 義教 1394-1441	1429-1441 Eikyô 1 - 13	Designates new era name (Eikyô)
7	Yoshikatsu 義勝 1434-1443	1442-1443 Kakitsu 2 - 3	Became shogun at the age of 8, and died of illness in the following year
8	Yoshimasa 義政 1436-1490	1449-1473 Hôtoku 1 - 5	Son of Yoshinori.

Table 3: Ashikaga Leaders

The first eight Ashikaga shoguns (indicated by boxes with square corners) are shown below. The numbers preceding the names correspond to the succession order. The first set of dates indicates the years serving as shogun, and second set indicates lifetime. The chart also shows the Kantô *kubô* position (indicated by the boxes with rounded corners). Like the Ashikaga shogun, the Kantô *kubô* are also direct descendants of Takauji, starting with Motouji, son of Takauji and younger brother of Yoshiakira. Ashikaga Tadayoshi held neither position, but as both supporter of and rebel against his brother, Takauji, is an important figure.

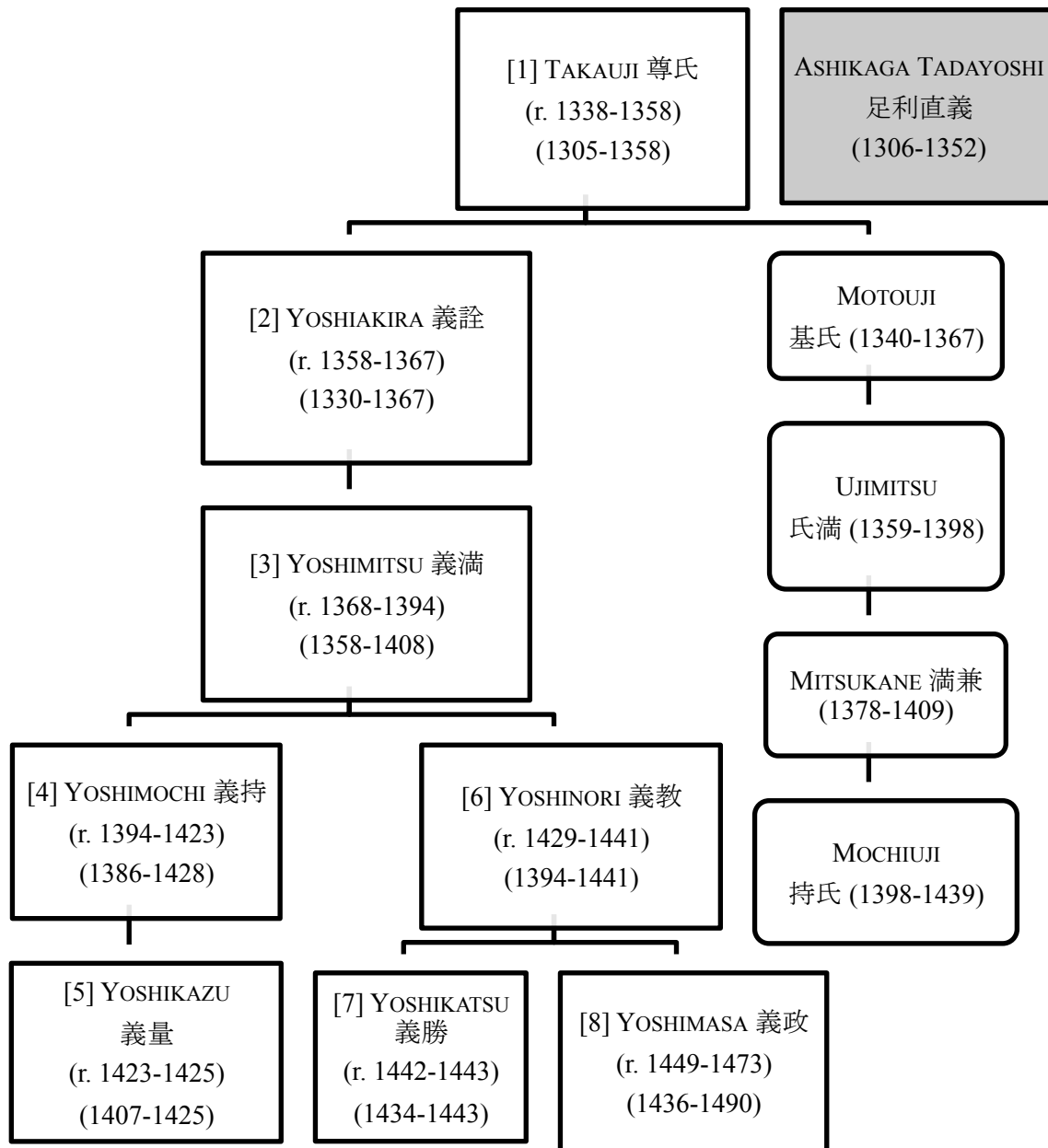


Table 4: Kantô *Kubô* and Interactions with Ashikaga Bakufu

Order of succession as Kantô <i>kubô</i>	Name (direct line of descent from Takauji), dates, and dates of office:	Notable actions in relation to the Ashikaga <i>bakufu</i> , which was then based in the Capital:
1	Motouji 基氏 (1340-1367) (o. 1349-1367)	Takauji's son; younger brother of Yoshiakira. Fought against Takauji in the Kan'ô disturbance (1350). Upon turning to support Takauji and Yoshiakira, Motouji was a significant asset in bringing the provinces around Kamakura under bakufu control.
2	Ujimitsu 氏満 (1359-1398) (o. 1367-1398)	The bakufu intended for him to succeed Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (3 rd shogun), but Ujimitsu himself declined. Pacified the northern provinces of the Kantô region (Mitsu and Dewa).
3	Mitsukane 満兼 (1378-1409) (o. 1398-1409)	Made significant progress in incorporating the northern provinces into the jurisdiction of Kamakura, particularly the southern regions of Mitsu and Dewa. Supported Ôuchi Yoshihiro in a revolt against the bakufu (Ôei disturbance, 1399).
4	Mochiuji 持氏 (1398-1439) (o. 1409-1439)	Multiple confrontations with the Ashikaga bakufu, particularly with Yoshinori. Mochiuji was the center of conflict in the Teikyô disturbance (1438-39). As a result of this conflict, the Kantô <i>kubô</i> post was eliminated when he committed suicide and all of his potential heirs were put to death by Yoshinori's order.

Table 5: Major Events During Rules of the First Six Ashikaga Shoguns

1336	Takauji participates in the <i>Sumiyoshi hôraku waka</i> , a ritual offering of poetry (<i>hôraku</i>) at Sumiyoshi Shrine in 1336.
1338	The Muromachi <i>bakufu</i> (shogunate) is established with Ashikaga Takauji as shogun
1348	Sukô (1334-1398, r. 1348-1351) is named emperor by the Southern Court, which has ties to Retired Emperor Go-Daigo

1350~?	Sôkyû travels along the northeast coast of Honshû, and writes <i>Souvenirs of the Capital</i>
1352	Go-Kôgon (1338-1374, r. 1352-1371) is named emperor by the Northern Court, which has ties to Takauji.
1353	Emperor Go-Kôgon flees the Capital (Kyôto) when the Southern Court attacks. Nijô Yoshimoto and other members of the Northern Court join him in Ôjima. They rendezvous with Takauji and regain the Capital. Yoshimoto writes about the events of their exile and return in <i>Solace of Words at Ôjima</i>
1356	Takauji requests Emperor Go-Kôgon to order the 18 th imperial anthology, the <i>New Collection of a Thousand Years</i> (<i>Shin senzai wakashû</i> 新千載和歌集). Takauji becomes the first military figure (non-emperor) to initiate the compilation of an imperial poetic anthology
1358	Takauji dies. Ashikaga Yoshiakira becomes shogun
1364	Yoshiakira goes to the Sumiyoshi Shrine, on present day Osaka Bay. The journey is recorded, presumably by Yoshiakira, in <i>A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi</i>
1367	Nijô Yoshimoto holds two poetry events at Yoshiakira's request: <i>Nenju gyôji uta-awase</i> (Poetry Competition on the Annual Events) and <i>Shintamatsushimasha uta-awase</i> (Poetry Competition at Shintamatsushima Shrine). Sôkyû and Imagawa Ryôshun are among the participants of both events. Yoshimoto writes a postscript to Sôkyû's <i>Souvenirs for the Capital</i> . Yoshiakira dies of an illness
1368	Ashikaga Yoshimitsu becomes shogun.
1374	Yoshimitsu attends his first nô performance. He becomes a patron to Kan'ami and Zeami. Emperor Go-Kôgon dies
1375	Yoshimitsu orders the imperial anthology, <i>Shin goshûi wakashû</i> (新後拾遺和歌集) through Emperor Go-En'yû (1359-1393, r. 1371-1382). Nijô Yoshimoto writes the <i>kana</i> preface for this anthology.
1388	Nijô Yoshimoto dies
1392	Northern and Southern Courts unite under Yoshimitsu

1394	Yoshimitsu steps down as shogun and takes the office of <i>dajô daijin</i> (prime minister). Ashikaga Yoshimochi becomes shogun
1397	Yoshimitsu builds Kinkaku-ji (Temple of the Golden Pavilion)
1408	Yoshimitsu dies. Yoshimochi assumes power
1423	Ashikaga Yoshikazu becomes shogun
1425	Yoshikazu dies. Yoshimochi returns to the office of shogun
1428	Yoshimochi dies
1429	Ashikaga Yoshinori becomes shogun
1432	Yoshinori travels to the seat of Suruga Province to visit the Kantô kubô (deputy of the Eastern Provinces) and to view Mount Fuji. His attendants, Gyôkô, Asukai Masayo, and Imagawa Norimasa, record the journey in their respective diaries
1433	Yoshinori sponsors the <i>Kitano-sha ichiman-ku</i> (<i>Ten-thousand-verse Session at Kitano Shrine</i>) in early spring. Yoshinori then orders, through Emperor Go-Hanazono, the 20 th imperial poetic anthology, the <i>New Continued Collection of Ancient and Modern Poetry</i> (<i>Shinshoku kokin wakashû</i>)
1441	Yoshinori is assassinated during a Nô performance at the house of Akamatsu Mitsusuke. His son, Ashikaga Yoshikatsu, becomes shogun. In response to peasant uprisings in the Kinai region, the <i>bakufu</i> responds to violence in and around the capital by establishing the first <i>tokusei</i> (cancellation of debt)

Table 6: Members of the Literary Milieu During and After Yoshinori's Rule

Name	Dates	Ways in which production may have been affected by Yoshinori	Number of poems in the <i>Shin shoku kokinshû</i> , where applicable ²²¹
Performing Artists			
Zeami ²²² 世阿弥	1363-1443	In 1434, Yoshinori exiled Zeami to the island of Sado. Zeami wrote <i>Kintôshô</i> (金島抄 <i>Writings from the Isle of Gold</i> , 1436)	n/a
Konparu Zenchiku ²²³ 金春禅竹	1405-1468?	Major works are between 1450-1460	n/a
Poets			
Shôtetsu ²²⁴ 正徹	1381-1459	Although Shôtetsu has earlier extant works, the production of his texts spiked in the 1440s and 1450s. Yoshinori confiscated Shôtetsu's estate revenues in the 1430s, and it is possible that Shôtetsu spent some time under house arrest (or purposeful seclusion)	none

²²¹ For statistics and discussion of the compilation of the *Shin shoku kokinshû*, see Inoue 1961 (131-33) and Inada 1978 (54-61).

²²² The performing arts scene in the capital (including performances of *kusemai*, *sarugaku*, and *dengaku*) was very active in the 1420, thanks in no small part to the patronage of the emperors, the Ashikaga shoguns, as well as such high-ranking courtiers as Nijô Yoshimoto. Yoshinori favored Enami, and then later, Onnami. Enami and his troupe were invited to the imperial palace in 1427. Yoshinori banned Zeami and his son, Motomasa, from the palace on 1429.5.13. This occurred ten days after a sarugaku performance by Motomasa and Motoshige (Onnami) at the shogun's Muromachi residence. Motomasa, who was the head of the Konparu troupe, was skipped over for certain performances in the following year (in the second and fourth months of 1430). In 1432, both Zeami and Motomasa (70 and 40 years old, respectively), performed at the Muromachi palace despite having fallen out of Yoshinori's favor. It was Onnami who was heading the sarugaku performance at the home of Akamatsu Mitsusuke, when Yoshinori was killed.

²²³ Zenchiku was the son-in-law and heir to Zeami. Zeami had rejected his nephew, Motoshige (Onnami) as heir, although Yoshinori favored him.

Shinkei ²²⁵ 心敬	1406-1475	Major works are in the late 1440s and 1450s	
Ikkyû Sôjun 一球総順	1394-1481	<i>Kyôunshû</i> (狂雲集 <i>Crazy Cloud Anthology</i>), ca. 1480; most of his earlier works are from the 1450s	
Ichijô Kaneyoshi (or Kanera) ²²⁶ 一条兼良	1402-1481		9 poems; <i>kana</i> and <i>mana</i> prefaces

²²⁴ Shôtetsu studied under Imagawa Ryôshun, with whom discussions largely centered around Reizei, although he was familiar with the poetic styles of both Nijô and Reizei schools. He had a poetic style that was suspect at court, especially by the Asukai family.

²²⁵ Shinkei was at the time a poet of the Reizei school. He studied with Shôtetsu starting around 1429, for about thirty years.

²²⁶ Ichijô Kaneyoshi, or Kanera, became regent in the eighth month of 1432, just before Yoshinori left on his journey to view Fuji. Yoshinori later forced Kaneyoshi to resign only two months later, in what Kanera discovered was an elaborate manipulation to benefit Yoshinori and Nijô Mochimoto, whom he favored. See Carter (Regent Redux), p. 39-43. Kaneyoshi was a favorite of Emperor Go-Hanazono, even if he was not in Yoshinori's favor. He attended poetry events in the emperor's chambers, and was selected to write the *kana* and *mana* prefaces for the *Shin shoku kokinshû*, which was ordered by Go-Hanazono at the request of Yoshinori. Kaneyoshi was once again appointed as regent after Yoshinori's assassination in 1441 (see Carter 1999, 97-98).

Table 7: Comparative List of Place Names in the *Fuji Viewing Journals*

The table below compares the entries in each of the three *Fuji Viewing* journals, with emphasis on the place names that are mentioned in each. A circle indicates that the place name occurs in the diary in question. The place names are given in Japanese, with an English translation of the name in cases of *utamakura*, in which the meaning of the name is commonly used as a pivot word (*kakekotoba*) or other play on words in the content of the poem. The date shows the day only. The entire journey took place during the ninth month of 1432.

Day:	Place	Gyôkô <i>Ran Fuji ki</i>	Asukai Masayo <i>Fuji kikô</i>	Imagawa Norimasa <i>Fuji goran nikki</i>
10	Left the capital <i>Miyako</i> 京	○	○	○
	Ôsaka Barrier <i>Ôsaka no seki</i> 逢阪関	○ 関の明神	○	
	Mount Miue <i>Miue-yama</i> 見上山	○		
	Kusatsu Station <i>Kusatsu no shuku</i> 草津の宿	○	○	
	Yasu River <i>Yasu-gawa</i> 野洲河	○	○	
	Mount Moru <i>Moru-yama</i> 守山		○	
	Mount “Mirror” Kagami <i>Kagami-yama</i> 鏡山		○	
	Musa Station <i>Musa no shuku</i> 武佐の宿	○		
	Before the Mountain <i>Yama no mae</i> 山の前	○	See entry on the 11 th day	
	49 th Station <i>Yonjûkyû-in no shuku</i> 四十九院の宿	○		

11	Left Musa Station	○		
Day	Place	Gyôkô	Masayo	Norimasa
11 (cont.)	Oiso Shrine <i>Oiso no mori</i> 老曾社		○	
	Before the Mountain		○	
	Inukami <i>Inukami</i> 犬上	○	○	
	Isaya River <i>Isaya-gawa</i> 不知哉川	○		
	Ono Station <i>Ono no shuku</i> 小野の宿	○		
	Surihari peak <i>Surihari-tôge</i> 磨針峠	○		
	Two Cedars <i>Nihon sugi</i> 二本杉		○	
	Fuwa Barrier <i>Fuwa no seki</i> 不破の関	○	○	
	Tarui Station <i>Tarui no shuku</i> 垂井の宿	○	○	
12	Left Tarui Station	○		
	Ai “Meeting” River <i>Ai-gawa</i> 相川	○		
	Aono “Green Fields” Plains <i>Aono ga hara</i> 青野ヶ原	○	○	
	Akasaka Station <i>Akasaka no shuku</i> 赤坂の宿	○	○	
	Kuize River <i>Kuize-gawa</i> 杭瀬川	○		
	Kasanui “Umbrella	○		

	Drenching” Shore <i>Kasanui zutsumi</i> 笠縫堤			
Day	Place	Gyôkô	Masayo	Norimasa
12 (cont.)	“Long Bridge” <i>Nagahashi</i> 長橋	○	○	
	“Middle River” <i>Naka-gawa</i> 中川		○	
	Musubu Town <i>Musubu no machiya</i> 結の町屋	○	○	
	Sunomata River <i>Sunomata-gawa</i> 墨保川	○		
	Oyobi River <i>Oyobi-gawa</i> 及川	○		
	Oritsu 下津	○	13 th day	
	Atsuta Shrine <i>Atsuta no miya</i> 熱田の宮	○	13 th day	
	Narumi Bay <i>Narumi-gata</i> 鳴海潟	○	13 th day	
	Yosamu “Cold Night” Village <i>Yosamu no sato</i> 夜寒の里	○	13 th day	
13	Left Oritsu	○		
	Oritsu	12 th day	○	
	Atsuta Shrine	12 th day	○	
	Narumi Bay	12 th day	○	
	Ueno 上野		○	
	Hoshi “Star” Cape		○	

	<i>Hoshi-zaki</i> 星崎			
Day	Place	Gyôkô	Masayo	Norimasa
13 (cont.)	Yosamu Village	12 th day	[○]	
	Sakai “Border” River <i>Sakai-gawa</i> 境川		○	
	Eight Bridges <i>Yatsu-hash</i> 八つ橋	○	○	
	Yahagi “Feathered Arrow” Village <i>Yahagi no sato</i> 矢矧の里		○	
14	Left Yahagi	○		
	Village of the River Uji <i>Uji-gawa no sato</i> 宇治川の里	○		
	Toyo “Abundant” River <i>Toyo-kawa</i> 豊川		○	
	Koromo “Clothing” Village <i>Koromo no sato</i> 衣の里		[○]	
	Station “Between the Mountains” <i>Yamanaka no shuku</i> 山中の宿	○	○	
	Sekiguchi “Barrier Entrance” <i>Sekiguchi</i> 関口	○		
	Imahachiban 今八番	○		
	“New Bridge” <i>Imabashi</i> 今橋	○		
	Mount Hanazono <i>Hanazono-yama</i> 花園山		[○]	
	Hikiuma “Horse Pulling” Field		[○]	

	<i>Hikiuma-no</i> 引馬野			
Day	Place	Gyôkô	Masayo	Norimasa
14 (cont.)	Mount Takashi <i>Takashi-yama</i> 高師山		[○]	
15	Left Imabashi	○		
	Mount Ôiwa “Towering Cliffs” <i>Ôiwa-yama</i> 大岩山	○		
	Mount Futamura <i>Futamura-yama</i> 二むら山 (宮路山)	○		
	Koromo Village	○		
	Shiomi “Salt Viewing” Hill <i>Shiomi-zaka</i> 塩見坂	○	○	20 th day
	Futago “Twin” Hills <i>Futago-zuka</i> 二子塚	○	○	
	“Foot of the Bridge” <i>Hashimoto</i> 橋本		○	
16	Left Hashimoto	○		
	“Name of the Beach” Bridge <i>Hamana no hashi</i> 浜名の橋	[○]	○	
	“Crane Hill” Mountain <i>Sagisaka-yama</i> 鷺坂山		○	
	Hikiuma Station	○		
	Tôtômi province seat <i>Tôtômi fu</i> 遠江府	○		
17	Left Tôtômi province seat	○	○	
	Kake “Layered” River <i>Kake-gawa</i> 懸川・掛川	○	○	

Day	Place	Gyôkô	Masayo	Norimasa
17 (cont.)	“Chresanthemum” River <i>Kikugawa</i> 菊川		○	
	“Midnight” Mountain Saya no Naka-yama 小夜の中山	○	○	
	Komama Plains <i>Komama ga hara</i> こままがはら		○	
	“Wisteria Branch” <i>Fuji-eda</i> 藤枝		○	○
18	Left Fuji-eda	○		
	Okabe “On the Hill” Village <i>Okabe no sato</i> 岡部の里		○	
	Mount Utsu <i>Utsu no yama</i> 宇津の山	○	○	
	Suruga province seat <i>Suruga-fu</i> 駿河府	○	○	○
19	Fuji viewing party	○	○	
20	Kiyomi “Clear View” Temple <i>Kiyomi-dera</i> 清見寺	○	○	
	Kiyomi Barrier <i>Kiyomi ga seki</i> 清見関			○
	Sodeshi “Sleeves” Bay <i>Sodeshi no ura</i> 袖師浦	○		
	Shiomi Hill	15 th day	15 th day	○
21	Left Suruga province seat	○	○	
	Togoshi “Hand-Crossing” River Plains	○	○	

	<i>Tegoshi kawahara</i> 手越河原			
Day	Place	Gyôkô	Masayo	Norimasa
21 (cont.)	Mount Utsu	○	○	
	Fuji-eda	○	○	
22	Mount Seto <i>Seto-yama</i> 瀬戸山	○	○	
	Shimada River <i>Shimada-gawa</i> 島田川		○	
	Ôi “Great Springs” River <i>Ôi-gawa</i> 大井川		○	
	Mount Sayanonaka Sayanonaka yama	○	○	
	Ima “New” Bay Ima no ura 今の浦	○		
23	Ikeda Station Ikeda-juku 池田宿	○		
	Tôtômi seat		○	
	“Growing Pines” Field <i>Uematsu no hara</i> 植松の原	○	○	
	Hikiuma Field		[○]	
	Shôra Pines Shôra ga matsu せうらが松		○	
	Hamana Bridge		○	
	Hashimoto		○	
24	Shiomi Hill	○		
	Imabashi		○	
	Yahagi	○	○	

Day	Place	Gyôkô	Masayo	Norimasa
25	Sakai River	○		
	Narumi	○	○	
	Sunomata River		○	
	Nagahashi		○	
	“Old Crossing” <i>Furuwatari</i> 古渡	○		
	Oritsu	○		
26	“Cattle Field” <i>Ushino</i> 牛野	○		
	Kuroda 黒田	○		
	Sunomata-gawa	○		
	Kurochi “Black Blood” River Kurochi-gawa 黒血川	○		
	Uguisu ga hana 鶯がはな	○		
27	Tarui		○	
	Kashiwa “Oak” Plains Kashiwa-bara 柏原		○	
	Samegai Springs <i>Samegai</i> 醒井	○	○	
	Ono 小野		○	
	Azusa Barrier <i>Azusa no seki</i> 梓の関		○	
	Kadono かどの	○		

Day	Place	Gyôkô	Masayo	Norimasa
27 (cont.)	Musa Station	○	○	
	Oiso no mori	○		
	Mount Kagami	[○]		
	the Capital	○		

Chapter 6

Conclusion: Constructing the Traveler-Poet from Sôkyû to Bashô

This dissertation has examined acts of traveling through the landscape of Japan in a selection of poetic travel journals by political elites of the early Ashikaga shogunate during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the Nanbokuchô period, the time of rival Northern and Southern imperial courts, issues such as imperial succession and stewardship of the land were in great contention. I have shown that the travel journals by figures associated with the Northern Court and the Ashikaga shogunate reflect efforts to organize the land into a cohesive political unit, to establish a historical narrative in support of Ashikaga authority, and to claim the land through a series of meaningful performances.

It is the persona of the traveler that makes these performances. The traveler that we read in the pages of the travel journal is in fact playing a role that specifically meets the formula of travel writing. This performance is what constitutes the famous places as well as the wider geographic area that is traversed. The poems in particular are central to the performance of the journey. The poem tends to be the site at which each component—space, place, and traveler—interacts and works with the others. Competence in composing poetry was vital for sociopolitical involvement, and there is evidence that poetic composition also had a ritual function in matters of the state. Travel writing uses poetic practice in just such a sociopolitical capacity to construct the landscape of “Japan” in diverse ways.

These points are perhaps ideally demonstrated through a broad examination of textual, pictorial, and performative representations of travel produced during the Muromachi period, but this is beyond the scope of the present study. To undertake such a broad, multi-disciplinary study of how travel is represented would underscore the extent to which landscape and travel are a part of medieval cultural production. It would confirm the ubiquity and importance of poetic composition even in this so-called age of the warrior, and it would also act as a reminder of the multiplicity and fluidity of the various roles that overlapped for all who participated in the project of state building during this time.

In addition to this, it would be informative to expand the historical range of travel writing beyond the medieval era, particularly for better understanding travel writing in the early modern period. Recent English language studies of travel writing in the Edo period do address travel writing in cultural production before 1600. However, the descriptions of medieval travel tend to be rather generalized, because it is not the focus of attention, and because of the desire to highlight the identifying characteristics of travel and travel writing specifically in the early modern period. For example, Laura Nenzi distinguishes travel in the medieval and earlier periods quite simply as an act of “a military, political, or commercial obligation,” and contrasts this with travel in the Edo period as “a conscious sociocultural act, undertaken not out of practical necessity but from the simple desire to break with the ordinary and engage with an out-of-the-ordinary space and time” (2). Constantine Vaporis (1994) suggests a break in style and content from medieval travel when he highlights the “realistic descriptions of road conditions and the human experience of wayfaring” in early modern travel writing (8). Similarly, Marcia

Yonemoto argues that travel writing of the early modern period represents a “new mode” of travel writing that relied on a process of transforming an “observed landscape” into text for the informative value of its literal descriptions, or “annotations,” of that landscape (44).

Because these analyses focus on early modern travel writing, these are relatively accurate generalizations about the differences in how the texts were produced: compared to medieval cultural production, there was indeed a “boom” of travelers and travel diaries at this time; the diaries reflect a population that is much more diverse in terms of both class and gender; and there is a sense of verisimilitude as the result of an increasing interest in empirical observation that is not necessarily one of the goals of earlier poetry. But to argue that something entirely novel is taking place in the travel writing of the early modern period runs the risk of oversimplifying and glossing over the changes that were already taking place during the centuries leading up to the early modern. It is to ignore the fact that the construction of the medieval travel journal was itself necessary for the apparent “novelty” of the travel diaries of the seventeenth century. A brief examination of Matsuo Bashô’s 松尾芭蕉 (1643-1693) famous travel journal, *Narrow Road to the Deep North* (*Oku no hosomichi* おくのほそ道 ca. 1693), will contribute toward a better understanding of the continuity of travel writing from medieval to early modern cultural production.

As *haibun* 俳文,²²⁷ Bashô’s travel writing reflects a lively approach to the complexity of an inherited literary tradition that is made up of medieval travel literature,

²²⁷ With roots in late medieval popular linked verse, or *haikai no renga* 俳諧の連歌, the term *haikai* is usually translated as “humorous.” But in the case of *haibun* it is better

Buddhist traditions, classical poetry, and images of the traveler-poet from Japanese and Chinese literary traditions. Most prominent of these is the figure of Saigyô (1118-1190), who Bashô referenced quite frequently in his writing. Bashô's use of literary reference is at times ironic, or even contradictory, and in many ways reflects what is novel about early modern literary production. But read in the context of this dissertation, Bashô's *Narrow Road* bears a striking resemblance to medieval travel writing in general, and to Sôkyû's *Souvenirs for the Capital* in particular.

To begin with, in the opening passage of his travel journal, Bashô draws upon the Buddhist philosophy of impermanence (*mujôkan*) that is so well developed in medieval travel writing. It gives the impression that Bashô lives in a state of continuous travel, and suggests that he views this as representing and inspiring within the traveler an acute awareness of the impermanence of life:

The months and days are the travelers of eternity. The years that come and go are also voyagers. Those who float away their lives on ships or who grow old leading horses are forever journeying, and their homes are wherever their travels take them. Many of the men of old died on the road, and I too for years past have been stirred by the sight of a solitary cloud drifting with the wind to ceaseless thoughts of roaming.

Last year I spent wandering along the seacoast. In autumn I returned to my cottage on the river and swept away the cobwebs. Gradually the year drew to its close. When spring came and there was mist in the air, I thought of crossing the Barrier of Shirakawa into Oku... (trans. Keene 1996, 19; *SNKBZ* 71: 75)

interpreted as “vernacular,” not strictly in the linguistic sense, but also in terms of theme and subject matter. In its broad sense, the term *haikai* represents not so much a literary genre as an intellectual mode, most closely associated with linked verse, but also with *haiga* 俳画 (*haikai* painting) and *haibun*. Because of the varied applications of the *haikai* mode, the term *haii* 俳諧 (*haikai* spirit) is also used to indicate an irreverent, playful, or parodic tone in popular cultural production of the Edo period.

In addition to the abundant images of human transience, both in the literal and metaphysical senses, the introduction makes multiple literary allusions, to Chinese and Japanese poets alike. These “men of old” that Bashô mentions are the traveler-poets of the medieval era and earlier, who have gone before Bashô both on the road and in poetic practice. Readers familiar with medieval travel writing will recognize the format almost immediately: after an introduction that establishes the philosophical, literary, and historical context, the traveler exits the social structure and proceeds, through a series of prose – poem passages, to describe the landscapes and auras of famous places in the poetic canon.

The introduction to Bashô’s most famous travel journal takes on an important role: by incorporating allusions to famous old poets, as well as calling up themes of impermanence common in medieval Buddhist exposition, it establishes an intricate literary legacy out of which Bashô constructs a distinct literary persona. These names are deliberately selected and appropriated specifically for this text, and then presented as a naturalized lineage. As such, they inform the construction of Bashô’s literary persona.

There are several other important similarities between Bashô’s *Narrow Road* and Sôkyû’s *Souvenirs*, most notably the roles that both take on as poets who have become lay priests in order to leave their homes and wander through the country. In a general sense, this is attributable to a common convention in travel writing, based on one of the originary motivations of travel as ascetic practice. Nonetheless, in each case, the extensive travel undertaken necessitates a physical and psychological break from the social structure. More specifically, it is worth noting that, until the respective travelers reach Matsuyama, the routes are almost identical in *Souvenirs* and in *Narrow Road*. In

Souvenirs, Sôkyû travels as far north as Matsuyama, where he mentions traveling on the “narrow road to the interior,” or *oku no hosomichi* (奥の細道) (*Tsuto* 66). Bashô’s *Narrow Road* clearly draws from this earlier text. Now I will examine the construction of the figure of traveler in Sôkyû’s and Bashô’s works.²²⁸

An edition of *Souvenirs* had been in publication by Genroku 2 (1689), the year that Bashô set out on his journey into the deep north.²²⁹ Muramatsu Tomotsugi (2001) argues that it was highly likely that Bashô had read Sôkyû’s journal, and that *Souvenirs* is a foundational text for the production of *Narrow Road*. Indeed, the similarities extend beyond the travel routes to the entire structure of each journal. Muramatsu identifies each of the passages that suggest a connection between the two texts. Most convincing of his arguments are that each text “lists place names one after another in the style of *michiyuki*” (52), and that each poet engages with locals to ask for information about the place they are visiting (102-103). Muramatsu provides numerous other examples, and these indicate a very real overlap between the two texts. In several cases, it is true, the similarity comes down to the use of single words, as in the word “information” (as あない and 案内 in *Souvenirs* and *Narrow Road*, respectively), and because Bashô never makes a direct reference to Sôkyû or his poetry, the links are easily overlooked, to be sure.

²²⁸ As always, when I use the names “Bashô” and “Sôkyû,” I refer to the persona that is constructed within the text of each travel journal, rather than an autobiographical or authorial figure.

²²⁹ See Appendix A of this dissertation for a textual history of Sôkyû’s *Souvenirs for the Capital*.

There is one phrase, however, that is surprising in its similarity, and provides convincing evidence that Bashô was aware of Sôkyû's journal. Soon after leaving his hut, apparently not yet having decided exactly where to direct his wanderings, Bashô muses:

This year, the second of the Genroku era, the thought somehow crossed my mind that I might take a walking trip all the way to distant Oku. It did not matter if I should be unlucky enough to grow gray on my travels, for I wanted to see places I had long heard about but never visited. (Keene 23; *SNKBZ* 71: 77)

Despite Bashô's significant travels, he expresses his desire to see other new landscapes about which he has heard and read. Later, well into his journey north, Bashô mentions the namesake of his journal:

We continued on our way, following a map Kaemon gave us. At the foot of the mountains that border the Narrow Road of Oku, the famous Tô sedge was growing. (Keene 71; *SNKBZ* 71:92)²³⁰

While it may seem as though Bashô is simply coining a poetic title for the difficult journey that he and Sôra have undertaken, he is in fact referring to a phrase, describing the very same area that Bashô discusses above, that Sôkyû uses in *Souvenirs*: "I came to Taga, the provincial capital of Michinoku. From there I went south toward the narrow road to the interior, to visit Sue no Matsuyama" (*Tsuto* 66). Indeed, it is clear that Bashô treats his route as an established path that he has chosen to follow, rather than a winding route that he and Sôra create spontaneously as they go along if they had been wandering.

After spending some time in Matsushima, Bashô presses northward:

²³⁰ Keene, in his translation, capitalizes the name of the road, as "the Narrow Road of Oku." This makes it appear as a proper name, although there is little precedent for Bashô to do this, unless he is referring specifically to the route that Sôkyû takes in *Souvenirs*. As for the map, there is no other reference to such a document beyond the fact that a man named Kaemon, a painter who hosted the two travelers, drew the map mentioned here for Bashô and Sôra, along with other sketches of local *meisho*.

On the twelfth [of the fifth month] we set out for Hiraizumi by way of the Pine of Anewa and the Bridge of Odae, names familiar from poetry. There was hardly anyone on the road, which was no better than a trail hunters or woodcutters might use. Not knowing where we were, we ended up by taking the wrong way and emerging at a port called Ishinomaki. (Keene 83; *SNKBZ* 71:104)

Matsushima and its surrounding area is an important portion of the journey for both Sôkyû and Bashô. For the former, it marks the farthest point of his northward wandering, where his “thoughts began to turn toward home” (*Tsuto* 68). And for the latter, Matsushima represents the last of familiar ground—to continue north is to venture, alone and without the guidance of earlier pilgrim-poets, into truly wild, unknown country. In light of this, we understand Bashô’s rather sudden shift to a mood of uncertainty and isolation, “taking paths untraveled save for hunters and woodcutters.”

The passages outlined above, as well as the simple fact that the travel routes taken by each poet are remarkably similar, despite the absence of an established pilgrimage route along the eastern coast of northern Honshu, strongly suggests that Bashô’s *Narrow Road* is a deliberate response to *Souvenirs*.

In *Souvenirs*, Sôkyû thematizes travel by citing the place name in the vast majority of the poems that he writes. As discussed in Chapter 1, Sôkyû engages with the aura of the famous places on his journey by delving into the poetic and historical contexts of that site, and then concluding with a poem. Similarly, Bashô tends to indicate the geographically specific information in *haibun* passages that introduce the poetry. The prose and poem complement each other, each enriching the reader’s understanding and interpretation of the other. As Christine Millett observes, the “visual ‘cutting’ of the text” in shifting from prose to poem in *haibun* functions as a *kireji* 切字 (cutting word) in *renga* composition (330). The interplay between prose and poem in the travel writing

format points to the role of renga and haikai linking techniques. The same is true for the practice of composing a new poem in response to old poems about a famous place, or put more abstractly, for the interaction between poet and the aura of a place. This quality of responsive interaction is as apparent in the passages of Bashô's *Narrow Road* as it is in the medieval travel journals discussed in this dissertation.

Bashô has shaped his literary persona by constructing a literary lineage of classical and medieval Japanese poetry and travel literature, as well as medieval Buddhism, and Chinese literary, artistic and religious traditions. Meanwhile, the *ukiyo* culture was growing in popularity in the urban centers of the Genroku period 元禄時代 (1688-1704). One of the most important of the contemporary *chônin* cultural movements that arise in Bashô's works is the “vernacularization” of space identified by Marcia Yonemoto in her book, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period*. This concept is manifested in the rhetoric of *michiyuki* in kabuki and *jôruri* puppet theater, as well as an increasing interest in pilgrimage and tourism, all under the rubric of a newly emerging spacio-temporal imagination that Yonemoto calls a “geosophy.”

Another important cultural movement is the growing practice of taking pseudonyms, for example, was becoming increasingly common for members of the *chônin* in the late 17th century. Nishiyama shows that this is also related to the issue of imagined space, primarily for the access to a “world apart” that these pseudonyms allowed, as veritable alternate identities (204-205). Bashô's case stands out here, as we have seen, for his projection of multiple variations on the literary persona of a spiritual yet conflicted wandering poet-priest. Analyzing the construction of “Bashô” as literary persona would

thus also contribute to an understanding of the varied cultural milieu of the Genroku period, which Adam Kern (2006), among others, identifies as a time of flourishing cultural production in the Edo period (6).

It is important to note that the persona of “Bashô” was constructed over more than just a single work of travel writing. An important part of this persona lies in a highly selective process of creating a set of “influences,” or literary references that Bashô makes in his own writing. Again, the introductory passage is central in establishing a complex literary and historical inheritance that directs and informs the reader’s interpretation of the text. As in the introduction of *Narrow Road*, there are also clearly and thoughtfully constructed lineages in the opening passages of his other journals, such as *Knapsack Notebook* (*Oi no kobumi* 笈の小文). Over the course of his travel writing, Bashô constructs a specific set of roles in his travel journal: as an outsider, an ascetic with no home, and traveler-poet. In doing so, the Bashô we read in *Narrow Road* is also situated firmly within his own version of a literary past.

This dissertation has been an analysis of textual representations of travel—namely travel journals and poetry. As such, it focuses on manuscripts that are inscribed on simple paper, without decorations, dyes, or illustrations. But it is my hope that this study will have an impact on the ways in which we can approach and understand visual material as well as such performance arts as theater, dance, music, flower arrangement, and garden design, all of which can be tied to issues of geography and representations of the landscape and existence in it or movement through it. The narrative of travel has of course never been limited to written text, but also has countless iterations as a broad material and cultural practice. This narrative of travel is always enacted by subjects—the

so-called authors and audiences alike—and as a result becomes an embodied experience across media.

The present study lays down the necessary groundwork toward moving to this larger goal of illuminating travel as it is represented across media. In the process, it has also explored important questions about how historical context constitutes the specific valences of apparently timeless and conventional words and images; how the geography of space is defined by the exigencies of historical circumstance; and how the act of travel is a performance, the textualization, so to speak, of time and space in the prose and poetry of the travel journal. In this sense, travel writing is very much an expression of authority, an act signifying knowledge of the past and the power to restore, while renewing, the past through present performance. The theory of medieval travel writing presented in this dissertation will hopefully work toward elucidating the act of representing travel in general, whether within or beyond the borders of what is considered Japan at different points in history. It offers a means for a new and better understanding of the role of travel in political activity and in cultural production. Not least, it illuminates the seemingly simple, but on closer observation complex, process by which certain places become famous and continue to hold such a lasting fascination for generations of travelers and for their readers as well.

Appendix A

Textual Histories

The following is some basic information about the translations that are included in this dissertation: Sôkyû's *Souvenirs for the Capital*, Nijô Yoshimoto's *Solace of Words at Ojima*, Ashikaga Yoshiakira's *Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi*, and selections of Gyôkô's *A Record of Fuji-Viewing*. I also include general information about the cultural context as it arises in the travel journals by Sôkyû and Yoshimoto, which were written within one or two years of each other.

Sôkyû's Souvenirs for the Capital (Miyako no tsuto)

Sôkyû, whose exact dates are unknown, was a poet of the Nanbokuchô period. According to early collections of texts, such as *Chokusen sakusha burui* 勅撰作者部類 (Kokugakuin 1902) and *Fusô shûyô shû* 扶桑拾葉集 (Tokugawa Mitsukuni 1693), Sôkyû is also known by the name Hyôbushôyû Ôtomo Norisuke 大友兵部少輔勅資, or Zokushô Hirayoshi 俗性平吉, and that he served as Ôiryô 大炊助, an official whose job is collecting and distributing rice and other crops. Sôkyû's home was probably in Tsukushi, and he met Imagawa Ryôshun 今川了俊 (1326-1420) during the latter's journey to Kyûshû, as recorded in Ryôshun's *Michiyukiburi* 道行ぶり (1371-1378). He has poems appearing in three imperial anthologies, from *Shin shûishû* (1363) onward.

Little is known about Sôkyû save for his occasional participation in poetic events in the Capital. In the ninth month of 1366, Sôkyû participated in a poetry gathering at the home of Yotsutsuji Yoshinari 四辻喜成 (1326-1402).²³¹ In the twelfth month of the same year, he participated as “the Monk of Tsukushi” 筑紫僧 in *Nenju gyôji uta-awase* 年中行事歌合 a major poetry gathering sponsored by Ashikaga Yoshiakira and hosted by Nijô Yoshimoto. It is possible that he was also present for another event in the same year and with nearly identical organization and attendance, the *Shintamatsushimasha uta-awase* 新玉津島歌合. Imagawa Ryôshun and Yototsuji Yoshinari attended both of these poetry competitions as well.

Souvenirs appears in the early literary anthologies *Fusô shûyô shû* 扶桑拾葉集 (Tokugawa Mitsukuni 1693), and *Gunsho ruijû* 群書類從 (late Edo, 1779-1819). It is in *Shirin ikô shû* 詞林意行集, a collection of travel journals from medieval onward that was published in 1690 by Miyagawa Dôtatsu 宮川道達 (d. 1701). It is also in a similar collection of travel journals, *Sôko* 桑弧, published by *Yûtoku Inari jinja Nakagawa bunko* 祐徳稲荷神社中川文庫 in 1694. In addition to these, there are several *shahon* extant, among these the Sendai gyôsho 仙台業書. This translation is based on the *Fusô shûyô shû* text, annotated by Fukuda Hideichi (SNKBZ 48).

²³¹ This is recorded in the diary *Yoshida-ke hinamiki* (吉田家日次記), in an entry on 1366.10.17. Cited in Fukuda’s introduction to *Miyako no tsuto* (SNKBZ 48: 346).

Nijô Yoshimoto's *Solace of Words at Ojima* (*Ojima no kuchizusami*)

“Solace of Words” is a translation of the term *kuchizusami* 口ずさみ, which literally means talking or humming to oneself, in the sense of passing the time or distracting oneself (*NKD*). In this sense, it gives the impression of “whistling in the dark.” But the term also has a distinct association with reciting poems as the mood takes one. Based on this meaning, Donald Keene (1989) has translated the phrase as “Reciting Poetry to Myself.” Here I have used “Solace of Words” in order to reflect the work of these poems to both soothe and distract in the face of a chaotic and potentially dangerous situation.

The stabilizing influence of poetic composition is suggested in this title as well. If reading this playfully, the title could be rendered as something like “whistling in the dark,” but given the dire importance of poetic composition in establishing a sense of political authority in the journal, I use the title, *Solace of Words at Ojima*. As such, Yoshimoto’s attitude about words and language is there in the title—the diary is a means of keeping himself assured, secure, calm in an anxiety-creating situation. Poetry is a means of calming himself, a lifeline. As he writes in the journal, “the only comfort on this journey has been in poems, Japanese and Chinese, night and day” (*Kuchizusami*). He’s less careful about hiding the dangers once Takauji arrives, perhaps because it is such a relief to have the concrete protection of a powerful military force.

There are several extant lineages of this text, and there are three known lines of titles: *Yoshimoto-kô kikô* 良基公紀行 (*Lord Yoshimoto’s Journey*), *Mino gyôkô jiki* 美濃行幸路記 (*Records from the Road of the imperial Excursion to Mino*), and the most commonly used title, *Ojima no kuchizusami* 小島のくちずさみ (alternately, *Ojima no*

susami). Fukuda Hideichi has published two separate annotated editions of the journal. Fukuda 1990 includes Yoshimoto's own brief conclusion, as well as postscripts from 1470 (Bunmei 2) and 1552 (Tenbun 21). The translation here is based on Fukuda 1990, and references Fukuda 2000 where there is a difference in the base text.

A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi (Sumiyoshi môde), Attributed to Ashikaga Yoshiakira

A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi is in the early collections, *Fusô shûyô shû* 扶桑拾葉集 (Tokugawa Mitsukuni 1693), and *Gunsho ruijû* 群書類従 (late Edo, 1779-1819). Its authorship is uncertain, and there is scant evidence to support its traditional attribution to Ashikaga Yoshiakira. The titles of the texts vary: the National Diet Library holds *Shogun Yoshiakira Sumiyoshi môde no ki* 將軍義詮住吉詣記, *Shogun Yoshiakira Naniwa môde no ki* 將軍義詮難波詣記, and *Sumiyoshi* すみよし. The National Archives of Japan has *Ashikaga Yoshiakira kô sumiyoshi môde no ki* 足利義詮公住吉詣記 and *Hôkyô-in den Sumiyoshi môde no ki* 寶筐院殿住吉詣記. The Matsudaira Collection at the Shimahara Municipal Library has *Yoshiakira Naniwa ura jôran no ki* 義詮難波浦上覽記. The National Institute of Japanese Literature and Hiroshima University have texts that are titled *Sumiyoshi môde* すみよし詣 and 住吉詣, respectively. There are also *shahon* held at *Yûtoku Inari jinja Nakagawa bunko* and elsewhere.

Gyôkô's *A Record of Fuji-Viewing (Ran Fuji ki)*

Fuji-Viewing is included in the early collections, *Fusô shûyô shû*, and *Gunsho ruijû*. In addition to this, there are extant *bunkobon* texts, including in the Matsudaira

Collection at the Shimahara Municipal Library, the National Archives of Japan, the Eisei collection of the Kumamoto University Library, and the Tôen collection of the Tôkai University Library, among others. The *bunkobon* held in the Eisei and Tôen collections are both based upon a manuscript that was determined to have been written in Gyôkô's hand.

The earliest extant text combines Gyôkô's travel journal with Asukai Masayo's from the same journey, and was titled *Records of the Road to View Fuji* 富士御覧路之記. It was in the *Gunsho ruijû* that Gyôkô's journal appeared by itself with the title *A Record of Fuji-Viewing*, by which it is known today.

Notes on the Translations

I include below information about cultural practice of the day, as well as my own choices in translation, in hopes of clarifying certain assumptions about the texts, and in order to slightly reduce the volume of the footnotes in the translations themselves.

The Lunar Calendar in Literary Production

Because dates were calculated according to the lunar calendar system, certain days carried special significance in relationship to the stage of the moon. Most notable is that the 15th day of the lunar month is followed by the night of a full moon. Because of this link between the calendar system and the lunar cycles, there is a visually illustrative function in giving the date, whereby the night of the first day of the month immediately suggests the dark sky of a new moon, and the fifteenth calls to mind the bright light of a

full moon. Likewise, a cloudy sky on the night of the fifteenth would suggest a night much darker than anticipated, and in the case of poetic representation, disappointingly so.

The link between the lunar calendar, daily life, and literary production is apparent in the title of the Nun Abutsu's travel journal, *Izayoi nikki* (十六夜日記). Edwin Reischauer's translation of the title as "The Diary of the Waning Moon" indicates that the moon has already reached its fullest stage and has just begun to wane, but also underscores the image of Abutsu in the latter years of her life and directing her attention to matters of her son's inheritance. The more literal word-for-word translation of the title, "Diary of the Sixteenth Night Moon," which in fact appears in many recent studies does not match the depth of Reischauer's earlier translation.²³² Based on the patterns of departure and recording the date in travel journals, it was common to wait until "a few days" after the twentieth day of the month before setting out on a journey.²³³

Of particular importance in *Solace of Words* is the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month, the Autumnal Equinox, in which imagery and associations for the moon closely resembles those of the harvest moon in Euro-American cultural traditions, symbolizing harvest and the changing of the seasons. It was common practice to hold gatherings to view the moon, considered to have reached its peak beauty, and to compose poems on the event; its importance has a quality of both a festival and of a day with ritual importance. Yoshimoto attaches particular importance to the night of this festival of mid autumn, and he reacts with acute disappointment at the dense clouds that night. Ashikaga

²³² See Reischauer 1947, Carter 2006, Horton 2002, Shirane 1998 and 2013, among others.

²³³ This is also a common pattern in other literary works, such as the Tales of Ise and Tale of Genji. The practice of waiting until after the twentieth day before departing is most likely connected to customs surrounding a directional taboo.

Takauji offers poems that he had composed on the night of the mid-autumn moon to Yoshimoto for evaluation, which Yoshimoto mentions but does not include in his journal. Finally, *Solace of Words* refers in different passages to three different Chinese poems (*shi* 詩) from the same section of the *Wakan rôeishû* on the moon of the Autumn Equinox, the fifteenth night of the eighth lunar month.

Translating the Place Names

The place names of course play a central role in these texts, particularly in the traveler's recognition of each place as the site of an *utamakura* 歌枕, which is a famous name that has been used in classical poetry. Oftentimes a travel diary will refer to a *meisho* 名所, which means either “famous place” if it refers to the geographic site, or “place name” if it refers to the name of that site. The term *utamakura* sometimes appears to be contrasted against *meisho*, in which case it is common to read the former as a consciously literary or poetic term, while the latter suggests that the site and its name are famous for some reason besides its connection to the classical literary tradition.

I have translated the names of places into English whenever possible, because there is frequent wordplay with both the pronunciation of the name as well as its literal meaning. If the place name is common, I keep the Japanese name. For example, Ôsaka of the Ôsaka Barrier (*Afusaka no seki* 逢坂関), literally “Hill of Meeting,” is frequently discussed in terms of meeting others during travel.

Kakekotoba (pivot words) make use of words that are homonyms or that have portions of words that sound the same. This is particularly common in poetry on place names, which frequently play with the sound of the name. Again, we see this in the

example of using the word “easy, tranquil” (yasushi 易し) in the poem on Yasugawa, which is a place name that literally means “Field-island River” (Yasugawa 野洲川).

Another common technique of poetic composition that we see in the travel journals is the *engo*, or associated word (縁語). Engo are words that are related through their meanings, and that have been so commonly used together in poetry that they have become officially linked to one another. This is especially common in the context of a specific topic of poetic composition, or a place name. The link is typically logical, as in the *engo* “river” and “crossing” in Nijô Yoshimoto’s poem on Yasugawa in *Solace of Words*.

Literary Reference and Citation in Travel Writing

As we see in the analysis of the texts in the first and second chapters, both *Souvenirs* and *Solace of Words* make frequent references to poetic anthologies and other important literary works. Most common of these foundation texts are the “official” poetic anthologies, that is, those collections of poetry that had been ordered by the Emperors (*chokusenshû*).²³⁴ The twenty-one anthologies were produced between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries. The *Kokinshû* is the most famous of these, and is traditionally recognized as the first anthology of vernacular poetry (*waka* 和歌) as a poetic form

²³⁴ I use the term “official” only to point to their production as the result of political and financial backing by an emperor, a shogun, or both. In the meantime, it is important to keep in mind that the so-called private poetic anthologies (*shikashû* 私家集) were often objects of public consumption, and as such reflected more about the content (usually the collected works of a single poet or house) rather than the motivation or method of production of the anthologies. Because of this, I use the term “House anthologies” instead. See Huey for further information on the various types of poetic anthologies.

distinct from the Chinese poetry that was widely practiced in Japan from the ninth century onward. Other important poetic collections include another imperial anthology from the Kamakura period, the *Shinkokinshû*; a collection of ancient poetry, the *Man'yôshû*; and a collection of Chinese poetry by Chinese and Japanese poets, the *Wakan rôeishû*.

The travel journals also refer frequently to characters and poetry from the *Tales of Ise* and *Tale of Genji*. Yoshimoto in particular draws on the *Genji*, with specific attention to the chapters in which Genji must travel, as in “Young Murasaki,” “Suma,” and “Akashi.” This connection is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

In the interest of brevity, the footnotes of the translations will refer to these most common source-texts using their abbreviations.²³⁵ This is not a comprehensive list of all the source texts that appear in the translations, as such a list would have the potential to number into the hundreds. In general, the texts that are not included here are the less famous imperial anthologies, the numerous house anthologies, and manuscripts of poetry gatherings and competitions (*uta kai* 歌会 and *uta awase* 歌合, respectively), among others.

²³⁵ See pp. xvii-xix in this dissertation for a list of these titles and their abbreviations.

Appendix B

Souvenirs for the Capital

Miyako no tsuto: A Travel Journal by Sôkyû

Souvenirs for the Capital

Around the period of Kano [1350-52], there was a man who had turned away from the mundane world. Although I had not the will to pass through metal mountains and iron walls,²³⁶ I resolved to follow into the past the tracks left under trees and over rocks.²³⁷ Thinking, “since every place makes no final abode,”²³⁸ I left Tsukushi one day

²³⁶ “Metal mountains and iron walls” (*ginzan teppeki* 銀山鉄壁) an impossibly hard material. This is a relatively obscure reference with uncertain origins. The phrase can be found in a Muromachi period dictionary, *Unpo iroha shû* (運歩色葉集 ca. 1547). An alternate phrase is “metal castles and iron walls” (*kinjô teppeki* 金城鉄壁).

²³⁷ “Follow the tracks” (*ato wo shitafu* 跡を慕ふ): Although the text does not literally mention “the past,” this phrase indicates an awareness of predecessors whom the “follower” loves or reveres. I interpret it this way because it suggests the poets who have traveled to *utamakura* sites, among other figures of the past. “Under trees and over rocks” (*jûge sekijô* 樹上石下): Priest Myôe (明恵 1173-1232) is credited with the phrase, “The Buddhist dharma flourishes, it is said, when there are people sitting in meditation everywhere, under trees, and upon rocks” in the Kamakura-era Buddhist text, *Parting Words of Priest Myôe of Togano-o* (*Togano-o Myôe shônin ikun* 桐尾明恵聖人遺訓).

²³⁸ The phrase, “every place makes no final abode” (いづくもついの住みかならねば) recalls *Shikashû* Parting, by Jakushô (10th c. 寂昭):

todomaramu	Whether to stay
todomaraji tomo	or yet not to stay,
omohoezu	I cannot determine
izuku mo tsuhi no	since nowhere
sumika naraneba	is there a final abode

to lose myself in wandering here and there.²³⁹ Having some connections in the area, I lay upon the clouds of Mount Ôei and found lodging amidst the dews of the Ikuno plains.²⁴⁰ Still wandering thus, I came to a place called Mount Iya in Tamba province.²⁴¹ Though I did not depend upon it as a permanent refuge, I spent the remainder of that year there.

Early in third month of the next spring, I went to the Capital. For two or three days I made my way to Kyomizu Temple, Kitano, and the like.²⁴² From there, I set out toward the Eastern country in order to continue with my journey.²⁴³

I left the Capital still shrouded in the darkness of night. The remaining brightness of the pre-dawn moon was reflected in the waves of the East River.²⁴⁴ The voices of the calling birds carried over to the distant villages, and the hazy view of the sky traversed by

²³⁹ Tsukushi, a place-name of northern Kyûshû and possibly Sôkyû's home, is paired with a pillow-word (*makurakotoba*) to read, literally, "Tsukuji of the mysterious lights." The pillow-word, *shiranuhi* (知らぬ日), may have come from a natural phenomenon such as luminescence in the bay.

²⁴⁰ There are two mountains called Mount Ôei: one located on the border between Yamashiro and Tanba provinces, and one on the border between Tanba and Tango provinces (both are in present day Kyôto prefecture), likely the former. The Ikuno Plain is an *utamakura* site in Tanba province that is often paired with the name Mount Ôei. The imagery of clouds and dew suggests that he stayed in these places for some time, while echoing the sentiment of "no final abode."

²⁴¹ It is uncertain to what mountain this refers. In the *Shirin-bon* text 詞林本 at Kyushu University Library, it is written "Haya-yama," or Mount Haya. Although neither appears to be a place name with any familiarity, Mount Haya appears in the occasional poem (in the 1197 imperial anthology, *Senzaishû*, for example).

²⁴² The Kyomizu Temple of Higashiyama, and Tenmangu Shrine on Kitano, in Kyoto. Here the text uses the verb "to go" (*môzu* 詣づ) that indicates a tone of pilgrimage or otherwise feeling of reverence for the destination.

²⁴³ "The Eastern country" (*Azuma* 東) refers to the lands to the east of Kyoto, what is now known as the Tôhoku region of Honshu. The "journey" (*sugyô* or *shugyô* 修行) reflects the view that wandering, as an act of purposefully detaching oneself from comforts of the material world, is a type of formal Buddhist practice.

²⁴⁴ "East River" (*higashigawa* 東川) seems to indicate the Kamo River (*Kamogawa* 鴨川), which ran along the eastern outskirts of Kyoto.

mist was quite lovely. Soon, I crossed the Ôsaka Barrier.²⁴⁵ The road beneath the cedars was still dark, and my footsteps echoed uncertainly upon the rocky surface of the Barrier.²⁴⁶ At what point did I come to be so far removed from the Capital? I felt it as “a distance of three thousand miles,”²⁴⁷ and my thoughts still lingered upon the Capital, even more than on my hometown. That day I arrived at Ishiyama temple, and I passed the

²⁴⁵ The name Ôsaka was often read Au-saka (逢坂), or “Meeting Hill,” in old literary Japanese. The Barrier was a famous check-point on the the border of Yamashiro and Ômi provinces (present day Kyoto and Shiga prefectures), and had become a famous name (*utamakura*) that immediately registers one’s great distance from the capital. A poem using this imagery can be found in an imperial anthology roughly contemporary to this journal. *Shin goshûi shû* (新後拾遺集 ordered in 1375 by Emperor Go-En’yû 後円融天皇 r. 1371-1382, completed in 1384 by editor Nijô Tameshige 二条為お重 d. 1385) Travel, no. 870, by Fujiwara Fuyuhira (藤原冬平 late Kamakura):

koete yuku	No sunlight filters through
sugi no shitamichi	along the road under the cedars
akeyarade	that takes me across—
tori no ne kuraki	birdsong in the darkness
Ôsaka no seki	Osaka Barrier

²⁴⁶ *Shûi shû* Fall, Fujiwara no Takatô:

Ôsaka no	Osaka Barrier—
seki no iwakado	our footsteps ring out
fuminarashi	on the stone path
yama tachiizuru	as I depart from the mountain
kurihara no koma	with my Kiri-hara horse

²⁴⁷ An allusion to a poem by Ki no Arimasa (紀在昌 mid Heian) from the *New Collection of Poems to Sing* (*Shinsen rôei shû* 新撰朗詠集 late Heian, Fujiwara no Mototoshi):

三千里外	A distance of three thousand miles
隨行李	wandering at will after the plums
十九年間	after nineteen years
任轉蓬	my attentions shift to the mugwort [<i>yomogi</i>]

The poem is also cited in *Tôkan kikô*. Bashô makes an allusion in his *Oku no hosomichi* to this passage from *Souvenirs*.

night offering my most sincere prayers for attaining the transcendent heart of the Buddha.²⁴⁸

At dawn the next morning, I went in the company of some travelers leaving the temples and shrines of the Capital. As the sun rose we passed the shores of Shiga Bay.²⁴⁹ I looked over the wake of a boat paddling in the distance, and the elegance of Priest Manzei's poem, "To what should it be compared?" floated up in my heart.²⁵⁰ It is said that the head priest of Ryôgon temple in Mount Hie pronounced poetry a frivolous and corrupt entertainment, and so had it banned. Later at Eishin temple, while looking out at the lake in the breaking dawn, and watching the progress of a boat going into open water, he heard a person recite that poem.²⁵¹ He realized that poetry may indeed be an aid to Buddhist meditation, and after that he composed many poems on the twenty-eight chapters of the Lotus Sutra and the ten pleasures of the Pure Land. I thought, "well, maybe so."

²⁴⁸ This is Ishiyama-ji (石山寺) of Ômi Province, in present day Ôtsu City. The "transcendent heart" of the Buddha does not appear to be a reference to a specific text or principle, but simply a state of mind or attitude to which Sôkyû aims in his practice.

²⁴⁹ An *utamakura* site in Ôtsu Province, on Lake Biwa.

²⁵⁰ Priest Mansei (満誓 8th c.), a poet of the *Man'yôshû*:

yo no naka wo	This life—
nani ni tatoemu	to what should it be compared?
asaborake	At dawn,
kogiyuku fune no	the boats as they row out,
ato no shiranami	with white waves trailing after

SNKBZ 6: 210. The poem is also in the *Shûishû* (拾遺和歌集 1005-1007) no. 1327; *Go-shûishû* (後拾遺集 1087) no. 1013; *Shoku-kokinshû* (続古今集 1265) no. 1389; *Shin-senzaishû* (新千載衆 1359) no. 2196; *Shin-go-shûishû* (新後拾遺集 1385) no. 1455.

²⁵¹ Priest Genshin (源信 b. 942) was the head priest of the Ryôgon-in temple, and retired to Eshin-in Temple on Mount Hiei. See Chapter 1 of this dissertation for a discussion of this story, which appears in the *Fukurozôshi* (袋草子) and the *Shasekishû* (沙石集).

I passed by Mount Kagami, and although I had reason enough with my recent change to ink-black robes, I felt uneasy about my seeing my face, and was certainly not thinking, “well, I shall approach.”²⁵²

tachiyorite	Do not say, Mount Mirror,
mitsu to kataruna	that I approached to look
Kagami yama	since the reflection of one
na wo yo ni tomen	seeking to leave a name in the world
kage mo ukereba	is dreadful to see

As the number of days on the road to the East went silently by one after another, I passed through the well-known places, such as Fuwa Barrier, Narumi Bay, Mount Takashi, and Mount Futamura, and I have come all the way to Mount Sayanonaka.²⁵³ This is where Saigyô wrote, “Did I think that I would cross again?” and I could not help but agree how moving it was.²⁵⁴

It seems that there are differing opinions on whether it is called Mount *Saya-no-naka* or Mount *Sayo-no-naka*. When Middle Counselor Moronaka came down to this

²⁵² Kagami yama 鏡山, literally “Mount Mirror,” is an *utamakura* site in Ômi Province. When Sôkyû writes “well, I shall approach,” he refers to *Kokinshû* Misc. I, no. 899, poet unknown:

Kagami yama	Mount Mirror—
iza tachiyorite	well, I shall approach to see
mite yukamu	whether the passing years
toshi henuru mi ha	have accumulated
oiyashinuru to	to age this body

SNKBZ 11:340

²⁵³ All of the place names in this passage are *utamakura* sites along the Tôkaidô, or as Sôkyû calls it, the road to the east (*Azumaji* 東路).

²⁵⁴ *Shin kokinshû* (新古今集 1205) Travel, no. 987, Saigyô:

toshi takete	Did I ever think
mata koyubeshi to	I would cross here again
omoiki ya	after aging so many years?
inochi narikeri	Such is this life
Sayanonaka yama	Mount Sayanonaka

province [Suruga] on duty, he called it “Mount Sayononaka,” and it seems that the ancient poets before me, too, wrote it this way.²⁵⁵ Even in the anthologies, I feel one may find this.²⁵⁶ Minamoto Yorimasa of the third rank called it Mount Sayanonaga.²⁵⁷ This time, when I asked an old man who was there, without hesitation, he answered simply, “Mount Sayanonaka.”

koko wa mata	When once again
izuku to toeba	I ask where is this place
amabiko no	the voices echo
kotaruru koe mo	clearly in response:
Sayanonaka yama	Mount Sayanonaka

²⁵⁵ Minamoto no Moronaka (源師仲 1115-1172) was a statesman and poet of the Murakami Genji (村上源氏) line, and a contemporary of Saigyô, with poems in the *Senzaishû* (千載和歌集). Moronaka’s poem about Mount Sayononaka no longer exists. Another example of the use of “Mount Sayononaka” in a poem is *Senzaishû* Separation no.538, by Monk Kakuben (覚弁 late Heian):

tabinesuru	Sleeping on the road
ko no shita tsuyu no	my sleeves
sode ni mata	heavy with the dew beneath the trees
shigure furu nari	are soaked again in the autumn rain
Sayanonaka yama	Mount Sayanonaka

Horton 2002 cites *Miyako no tsuto* for this story of Moronaka’s journey to Suruga Province.

²⁵⁶ The *waka* database at *Kokusai Nihon bunka kenkyû sentaa* yields about 100 poems that name Mount Sayononaka, and about 140 with the name Mount Sayanonaga (<http://db.nichibun.ac.jp/ja/category/waka.html>). The search includes private collections as well as imperial poetic anthologies (*chokusenshû*), but the results suggest that both names were common, from the times of the *Kokinshû* at least until the 14th century.

²⁵⁷ *Fubokushô* (夫木抄 1310) Winter III no. 7205, Minamoto Yorimasa (源頼政 1104-1180):

tsumorikeru	Is it simply the snow
yuki bakari ka ha	that has already piled up,
ko no ma yori	or is it a fresh snowfall filtering down
tsuki mo shigururu	through the branches with the moonlight
Sayanonaga yama	Mount Sayanonaga

The name “Nagayama” changes the literal meaning from “Middle” (中) to “Long” (長). In either case, the name suggests a period of darkness, as a mountain of “midnight” (*Saya no naka*) or “long night” (*Saya no naga*), and the visual imagery of nighttime and being unable to see reflect this.

Before long, I crossed Mount Utsu in Suruga province.²⁵⁸ The ivy-covered road,
still young with green leaves, made me think of the crimson leaves of autumn.

momiji seba	When the leaves turn color
yume to yanaran	they will be like a dream,
Utsu no yama	these things I see in reality:
utsutsu ni mitsuru	the greenery of Mount Utsu,
tsuta no aoba mo	the young leaves on the ivy, too ²⁵⁹

I stayed at the Kiyomi Barrier,²⁶⁰ and left while the night was still deep, thinking:

Kiyomi gata	Kiyomi Bay
nami no tozashi	is a locked gate opening
mo akete yuku	for the dawning light upon its waves—
tsuki wo ba ika ni	why doesn't the guard stop the wandering moon
yoha no seki yori	as it crosses the Barrier at midnight? ²⁶¹

I have heard there are days when they don't rise up, these waves of Tago Bay, but in no
time my traveling sleeves have begun dripping with brine.²⁶²

²⁵⁸ Mount Utsu has been a famous place ever since its use in the *Tales of Ise* 9:

Suruga naru	In Suruga
Utsu no yamabe no	around Mount Utsu
utsutsu ni mo	I do not see a soul,
yume ni mo hito ni	neither in reality
awanu narikeri	nor in my dreams

²⁵⁹ The name Utsu 宇津 is homophonous with the word, “reality” *utsutsu* 現, and is frequently paired with images of ivy in *waka*.

²⁶⁰ An *utamakura* site in Suruga Province

²⁶¹ This poem combines, and purposely entangles, the images of the locked gate of the Barrier and its guards, with the movements of the setting moon and rising sun over the bay. The word “dawning” (*akete* 明けて) is homophonous with “opening” (開けて), and is an associated word (*engo*) with “lock” (*tozashi* 鎖し).

²⁶² Sôkyû's sleeves have been soaked by the salty waves and by his tears from the hardships of the journey. The reference to the waves of Tago Bay is an allusion to *Kokinshû* Love I, poet unknown:

When I look over at Mount Fuji in the distance, it is shrouded thickly in mist, and I can't see in any way that the mountain knows no time.²⁶³ Reflecting the morning sun, the snow on the tall peak looked exceedingly beautiful—it was as a mirror suspended in the sky, difficult for this brush of mine to put down into words.

toki shiranu	Oblivious to season,
na wo sae komete	even its name
kasumu nari	is shrouded in mist
Fuji no takane no	the high peak, hazy in the daybreak
haru no akebono	of an early spring

Fuji no ne no	The smoke
kemuri no sue ha	over Fuji's peak
taenishi wo	has faded
furikeru yuki ya	but the snow that has fallen
kiesezaruran	will never disappear

From there I crossed Ukishima Plain, and paid homage to Hakone shrine.²⁶⁴ Truly, if it were not for the clearly manifest vow of the Gongen, I did not comprehend how there

Suruga naru	Though there may be days
Tago no ura nami	the waves to not rise up
tatane hi ha	in Tago Bay at Suruga,
aredomo kimi no	there is not a day
koinu hi ha nashi	I do not feel your love

²⁶³ An allusion to the *Tales of Ise* 9:

toki shiranu	The mountain that knows no time
yama ha Fuji no ne	Fuji's peak—
itsu to te ka	when is it now,
ka no ko madara ni	its slopes speckled
yuki no fururamu	with snow like a fawn?

The mist Sokyû sees tells him that the mountain is surrounded by a phenomenon associated with springtime, and so cannot be immune to time or season.

²⁶⁴ Ukishima Plain is an *utamakura* site in Suruga Province, near Mount Fuji. The name means “floating island.” Hakone Shrine is in Sagami Province, present day Kanagawa Prefecture.

could be water at the peak of this mountain—it was quite mysterious.²⁶⁵ It is this place where spirits of the departed wander in this world, so it is said.²⁶⁶ In general, there were many uncanny things about its atmosphere. There is a constant wind tearing at the waves, and it fills one with dread and wonder to look upon the place.

Hakone ji ya	The mountain road to Hakone—
mizu umi aruru	the mountain wind,
yamakaze ni	raging over the lake,
keyaranu yo no	makes clear the wretchedness
usa zo shiraruru	of the unending darkness of night ²⁶⁷

Then I came to a place in Sagami province called Kamakura Yama-no-uchi,²⁶⁸ and called upon a former acquaintance. When I heard that he had passed on to the next world, I briefly looked at the condition of the place where he had used to live, which made me all the more aware of the emptiness of this world.

mishi hito no	I called on my old friend
koke no shita naru	and found only traces
ato toeba	under the moss—
sora yuku tsuki mo	even the moon crossing the sky
nao kasumu nari	mists over for a moment

I looked for lodging in the area and stayed for some time. When one of the many traveling monks at the inn told me of a sage on Mount Takaoka of Hitachi province, I

²⁶⁵ This is Hakone Gongen (箱根権現), the deity there, and an Avatar of the Buddha. The “water at the peak” of the mountain is Lake Ashi (芦ノ湖).

²⁶⁶ Sôkyû may be citing a Buddhist text such as the *Miraculous Origins of Mount Hakone* (*Hakone yama engi* 箱根山縁起), although it is uncertain. The word *meido* (), together with imagery of the “mountain road” in the accompanying poem, suggests that Mount Hakone is a type of gateway to a land of the dead, or it provides passage for spirits of the dead who have become lost to find release from the mundane world of the living.

²⁶⁷ Again, the word *ake* has multiple meanings: “to open” (開け), which is an *engo* for “box” (the *hako* 箱 of Hakone); and “daybreak” (明け), which literally means the dawn, but also suggests enlightenment in the sense of awakening from ignorance through Buddhist teaching.

²⁶⁸ Yamanouchi (山ノ内) in the city of Kamakura, near Enkaku-ji Temple.

went to call on that sage. He lived in a temple called Hôun-ji, and was called Recluse Shûki.²⁶⁹ He was one of Priest Kûgan's leading disciples, and had also studied long in China under the Priest Chûbô at Mount Tenmoku.²⁷⁰ I thought, "If one is going to leave the world, this is the surely the way" so I built a three-foot grass hut and spent the summer there on Mount Takaoka.

There was another recluse, who had been living in the mountains for quite some time in Mount Tokusa of Kai Province, and when I heard about him, I went to call on him in his cave.²⁷¹ I stayed there for a little while, and then returned to Hitachi Province again, spending my days traversing the endless road of Musashi Plains. That night there were many monks on the road, and everyone bundled temporary grass pillows together in preparation for spending the night. I heard that even long ago there were robbers here, and that the poem "Please do not set fire today" was composed on this plain.²⁷² While I

²⁶⁹ Mount Takaoka (literally, Tall Hill 高岡) was in Niibarigun, in present day Ibaraki Prefecture. Hôun-ji (法雲寺) is one of the great Zen temples of the Kantô region. The temple was founded by Fukuan Sôki (復庵宗己 1280-1358) in the first year of the Shôkei era (1332). This appears to be the same monk who Sôkyû visits here, although the text uses the name Shûki Anju, that is, Shûki (Sôki 宗己) who lives in a hermitage (*anjû* 庵住), thus "Recluse Shûki" in the translation.

²⁷⁰ Priest Kûgan (Kûgan Oshô 空岩和尚) may be another name for the sixth patriarch of Enpukuji, Zen Priest Kakuman (覚満禅師), although this is uncertain. Chinese Zen Priest Chûbô (Chûbô Oshô 中峰和尚) is better known as Chûô Myôhon (中峰明本 1263-1323). Tianmushan (J. Tenmoku-san 天目山) is a mountainous region in northwest Zhejiang Province (J. *Sekkôshô* 浙江省), where there is a large Buddhist temple complex. There was also a Tenmoku-san in Kai Province, or present day Yamanashi Prefecture. It was established by Priest Gôkai Honjô (業海本浄 d. 1352) after studying under Chûô Myôhon at Tianmushan in China.

²⁷¹ Mount Tokusa (木賊山) is in the vicinity of Priest Gôkai's Seiun-ji Temple (栖雲寺) on Tenmoku-san in Kai Province (present day Higashi Yamanashi-gun of Yamanashi Prefecture).

²⁷² This is an allusion to the *Tales of Ise* 12:

didn't think they would go so far as that today, they took even our mossy robes and
roared away like waves into the ocean, making my itinerant bed all the more miserable.²⁷³

ito hazu ha	If I didn't hate this world,
kakaramashi ya ha	would I be suffering so?
tsuyu no mi no	This dew-like life
uki ni mo kienu	its melancholy never fades
Musashino no hara	Musashino Plains ²⁷⁴

After that, I wandered around visiting sages here and there. There was a
peripatetic who had lived for many years on Mount Chichibu, and who wouldn't go to the
village, even briefly.²⁷⁵ The villagers called him by such names as the Bearded Monk,
and no one knew where he was from, nor what sort of person he was, and I spent the
winter with him. When it turned to spring, I crossed over to Kanzuke province where,
quite unexpectedly, there was a person who provided me lodgings for a night.²⁷⁶

It was early in the third month—the plum tree that stood near the eaves of the
house had lost most of its blossoms, and the moon shining hazily through the bare

Musashino ha	Do not set fire to it today!
kyô ha na yaki so	Among the green grasses of
wakakusa no	Musashi Plains
tsuma mo komoreri	my young beloved is hidden
ware mo komoreri	and I am hidden too

²⁷³ “Mossy” suggests the dark color of his monk’s robes. “White waves” (*shiranami* 白波) is a euphemism for “robber,” from its use as such in the story “Valley of the White Waves” (白波谷) in an official history of the Later Han from the fifth century, *Hou Han shu* (J. *Gokanjo* 後漢書). Perhaps the strong winds of the open plains, pulling roughly at his robes, reminds Sôkyû of the legendary robbers of this area, made famous by the *Tales of Ise* 12 (see note 272, above).

²⁷⁴ Dew (*tuyu* 露) and fade (*kie* 消え) are *engo*.

²⁷⁵ Chichibu-yama (秩父山) is in the northwest region of present day Saitama Prefecture. It is not known as an *utamakura* site.

²⁷⁶ This spring marks the beginning of the third year since the opening of the diary, and the second year since Sôkyû had set out from the Capital. Kanzuke Province, usually pronounced Kôzuke (上野国), is roughly equivalent to present day Gunma Prefecture.

branches seemed very refined. The pine pillars and woven bamboo fence imparted an air of rustic, time-honored beauty to the place.²⁷⁷ The owner of the house, who looked as though he came from a fine lineage despite living in the country, came out to meet me. He was sympathetic to the sorrows of my journey, and expressed great interest in the moment that I first grew weary of the world, and other such things.²⁷⁸

He said, “I am not oblivious to the transience of this world, but this body of mine is hopelessly bound to it, so I have spent my days with little more than the intention to turn away from it. Even after hearing your story tonight, I am alarmed by the persistent idleness of my heart that cannot discard the world.” He continued, “You must stay here for a while and recover from this road-weariness.” But in the end, I left, explaining that I had some urgent business, and promising to return in the autumn.

That autumn, in the eighth month, I set out for his home with eager anticipation, having thought of him often since our last meeting. But when I called, I found that he had died; and hearing that his seventh-day memorial service was taking place that very day, I was overcome with the inexpressible frailty of life.²⁷⁹ I couldn’t help but wonder why I didn’t hurry just a little to visit him. I was dismayed to think that he had expected me with such warmth—though we live in a world of deceit, how empty he must have thought my promises. I asked how he was at the end, and they said, “He spoke of you, even up

²⁷⁷ This description recalls Genji’s residence at Suma in the *Tale of Genji*: “Genji’s house seemed very strange and exotic. The surroundings were such that [Tô no Chûjô] would have liked to paint them. The fence was of plaited bamboo and the pillars were of pine and the stairs of stone. It was a rustic, provincial sort of dwelling, and very interesting. (Seidensticker, p. 244; NKBZ II, p. 205)

²⁷⁸ He is asking about the circumstances that led Sôkyû to take the tonsure, and about his Buddhist practice.

²⁷⁹ The “seventh-day memorial service” (*sho nanoka* 初七日) is a ceremony marking the first seven days after the passing of the deceased.

until the moment of his passing,” and I wept, together with all those who had been left behind. It was not a shock as though learning of it for the first time, but it made real for me how swiftly death overtakes our bodies, which require so many earthly things.

Of the many things he loved, his heart swelled with the waves of Waka Bay.²⁸⁰
When the people told me this, I turned to my own longest cherished passion.²⁸¹ Guided
by my heart, I wrote a fragment of my thoughts on the wall of the inn and then left.

A little after the tenth day of the third month, following the scent of the plum blossoms along the long road through the wilderness, and beneath the eaves of a country bower I got caught up in the pleasure of gazing at the moon. All night my host and I talked about times past and present, reciting poetry to each other and, finding respite from thoughts of my journey, my heart began to linger in this borrowed lodging.²⁸² And yet I took my leave, hastening to the distant clouds of my next destination, promising that we would be reunited under the autumn moon.²⁸³

But, when I came to visit this place once again, determined not to break an old promise, this person has already passed from the world. Unable to see for a second time the face I knew from that single night, my breast is ablaze with yearning, and my sleeves are soaked with loving tears. I know no other way to outwardly manifest my grief, the sorrow stirring like a seed within my heart. Even if it is said to be a mistaken game of decorative words, can it not be linked distantly to glorifying Buddha?²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰ An *utamakura* in the Kii Province, Waka Bay (Waka no ura 和歌浦) and its waves are synonymous with *waka* poetry, so this is a way of saying that Sôkyû's friend was devoted to poetic practice.

²⁸¹ Sôkyû means that poetic composition is one of his longest cherished passions, and so he turns to poetry as a final dedication to his friend.

²⁸² Sôkyû means both that his thoughts stayed with the friend, and that this caused him to feel stronger ties to the mundane world in the broader sense of Buddhist philosophy.

²⁸³ Specifically, he writes that it would have been for the three months of autumn, that is, the seventh, eighth, and ninth lunar months.

²⁸⁴ Sôkyû is prefacing the two poems that he writes below, saying that verse is the only way he knows to express the emotions he feels. The “seed” is a reference to the *Kanajo* (仮名序 kana preface) of the *Kokinshû*, which describes poetry as the flowering of the seeds of intention within a person's heart. The phrase “mistaken game of decorative words” is a reference to criticism of poetry as “mad words and fictitious phrases” (*kyôgen kigo* 狂言綺語) from the point of view that it distracts one from the Buddhist Truth. For a discussion of *kyôgen kigo*, see Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

sode nurasu
nageki no moto wo
kite toeba
suginishi haru no
ume no shita kaze

I come to call at this place
of sleeve-drenching sorrow
already the wind has swept
beneath the plum tree
of that spring, now past²⁸⁵

yû kaze yo
tsuki ni fukinase
mishi hito no
wakemayouran
kusa no kage wo mo

Evening breeze!
Carry the moonlight down
illuminate the shadows
cut a path where my friend parts
the deep grasses, surely losing his way

Thinking this world of dust to be all the more wretched, walking, not deciding upon a direction but wandering, lost, I passed through many places, including Mushiro no Yashima, which resonated deeply within me.²⁸⁶

It had been spring when I left the Capital, and so when I crossed the Shirakawa Barrier at the end of autumn, I couldn't help but agree with Priest Nôin of Kosobe, who composed the poem,

Miyako wo ba
kasumi to tomo ni
tachishikado
akikaze zo fuku
Shirakawa no seki

I left the Capital
with the rising mists of spring
but now it is the autumn wind
that is blowing
Shirakawa Barrier²⁸⁷

²⁸⁵ The place he refers to as the source of his sorrow (*nageki no moto*) echoes his memory of sitting together at the base of the plum tree (*ki no moto*) by using a pivot word (*kakekotoba* 掛詞).

²⁸⁶ Muro no Yashima (室の八島) is a shrine in Shimotsuke Province, present day Tochigi Prefecture. A nearby lake is known for its mists that look like smoke rising up, and so it was an *utamakura* site from at least the 12th century, with poems in the *Kin'yôshû* (金葉集 1127), *Shikashû* (詞花集 1151), and *Senzaishû* (千載集 1187). Sôkyû is moved by the sight of this "smoke" because of its resemblance to the smoke of a cremation fire, reminding him of the death of his friend. The phrase "resonated deeply," literally "permeated my body" (*mi ni shimite*), is usually used to describe the piercing autumn wind, which is typically associated with Shirakawa Barrier, an *utamakura* site that arises in the next poem. It is possible that there may have been another reference to the Shirakawa Barrier here that is now missing from the text, or that it is simply anticipating the famous Barrier, which is the next stop on the journey.

and I think that what he says is true.

It has been said that, unfortunately, our Nôin probably did not compose his poem on site. Rather, under the pretense of going down to the Eastern country, he was hiding away at home, and later presented the poem as one that he had written while visiting that distant province. He must have actually gone there at least once, to have written such a thing as *Record of the Eight Hundred Islands*.²⁸⁸ Even if I don't go so far as to comb water through my hair like Takeda no Kuniyuki,²⁸⁹ one should at least change one's mood before passing through this place, even if it is feigned slightly, like applying makeup to the heart. But I did not, and crossed the Barrier in poor spirits.

Miyako ni mo
ima ya fukuramu
aki kaze no
mi ni shimiwataru
Shirakawa no seki

In the Capital, too,
it must be blowing even now—
the autumn wind
that permeates my very body
at Shirakawa Barrier

²⁸⁷ It is uncommon to see a poem cited in full in a travel journal; in most cases an oldpoem is indicated by a word or phrase alone. Because a phrase would certainly have been enough to point the reader's attention to this famous poem by Nôin, the full citation adds significant emphasis. See Chapter 1 for a full discussion of this passage.

²⁸⁸ *Yasoshima no ki* (八百島記), a diary attributed to Nôin, no longer extant

²⁸⁹ Takeda no Tayû Kuniyuki (竹田大夫国行), a Heian poet and musician, and an officer of the fifth rank in the imperial court (Tayû 大夫 is another name for fifth rank 五位). He is said to have changed his clothes before crossing the Shirakawa Barrier upon inspiration from Nôin's poem. The story is included in the Miscellaneous section of the *Fukuro zôshi* (袋草子 Fujiwara no Kiyosuke, ca. 1158) and in the writings of Toshiyori Zuinô (俊頼随脳 late Heian), a poet with such treatises as *Toshiyori mummyôshô* (俊頼無名抄), *Shunpishô* (俊秘抄), and *Toshiyori kudenshû* (俊頼口伝集). Bashô remembers Kuniyuki in *Oku no hosomichi* by including a poem by his companion Sora, which describes decorating one's hair with deutzia, a shrub with sprays of delicate white flowers, before crossing the Shirakawa Barrier.

From there I crossed to the Dewa province and, going around to look at the Akoya pine and such places, I worked my way across the Asaka Moor in Michinoku Province.²⁹⁰

When Middle Captain Sanekata went to Michinoku, there were no irises, and so, because it says in the authoritative text to decorate the eaves with water grasses, he told the people to use water oat, as they were the same thing after all.²⁹¹ In the seventh year of the Kanji period [1093], at an iris root competition held by Ikuhomon-in, Fujiwara Takayoshi wrote in his poem:

²⁹⁰ The Akoya Pine is an utamakura associated inconsistently with both Dewa and Michinoku (or Mutsu) Provinces. Akoya Pine appears in the *Tales of Heike* (*Heike monogatari* 2.9, “Akoya no matsu”), in which Fujiwara no Sanekata, exiled to Michinoku, must search and ask for directions for it. He finds that even the locals are unsure of its location, because the poem that locates it in Michinoku is so old that the provincial boundaries have since changed. Sanekata eventually finds it in Dewa Province. This ambiguity is treated in Zeami’s noh, “The Pine of Akoya” (阿古屋松 1427), in which Sanekata searches for the pine in Michinoku, and is directed to Dewa by a woodcutter who is later revealed to be the god of Shiokama (Shiokama no myôjin). Asaka Moors (Asaka no numa 浅香沼) is an utamakura site.

²⁹¹ Fujiwara no Sanekata (藤原実方 d. 998), a statesman of the mid-Heian period, and one of the 36 Poets (*Sanjûrokkasen* 三十六歌仙) with poems in the third imperial anthology, the *Shûi wakashû* (拾遺和歌集 1005-07). Sanekata was exiled to Michinoku (the story appears in *Jikkishô* 8; see Sanekata above, note 290). Water oat (*katsumi*) is a type of water grass, famous since its appearance in the *Kokinshû* Love IV, poet unknown:

Michinoku no	Like the water oat flower
Asaka no numa no	that blossoms in Asaka Marshes
hana katsumi	of Michinoku, I sometimes look
katsumiru hito ni	at my beloved, and because it is so seldom
koi ya wataramu	I love all the more

The iris, an auspicious flower, is commonly used as a decoration for the *Tango no sekku* (端午節句) festival on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month.

ayame kusa
hiku te mo tayuku
nagaki ne no
ikade asaka no
numa ni oiken

Oh, irises
when our arms grow tired from pulling
such long roots
how do you grow in such shallow waters
of Asaka Moor?²⁹²

Because of this poem, I have long doubted that no irises grow in the area, so while I was there, I asked someone about it. He told me, “It’s not that there are no irises here.

However, on the occasion of his arrival, the Middle Captain [Sanekata] said, ‘Why should these peasants, who know nothing of design, ornament their eaves with irises in imitation of the Capital?’ So he made them use water oat to decorate their eaves instead. Ever since, this has become our custom.”²⁹³ And when he said this, I thought, “Well, of course, that is one interpretation.” In such works as the geographies, too, there are written the words of the elders of that province, and I thought, “There are those kinds of views, too,” and made note of it.²⁹⁴

Presently, I asked this person for directions, and then went toward a village called Yamada. On the coast, there was a grass hut that had been made without any pretensions to artistry, but because its master was living in awareness of the sorrows of this world, I stayed there. It was after the tenth day of the ninth month, and I could hear, mingled with the stormy winds blowing down from the mountains behind, the calls of the deer nearby.

²⁹² Fujiwara Takayoshi (藤原孝善), a statesman of the mid Heian with poems in the fourth imperial anthology *Goshūishū* (後拾遺集 1086), composed this poem on the occasion of an iris root competition (*neawase*), one type of courtly entertainment at the time. Ikumon-in is the daughter of Retired Emperor Shirakawa. The poem also appears in the fifth imperial anthology *Kin'yōshū* (金葉集 1126), the historical treatise *Ima kagami* (今鏡 late Heian), and the *Fukurozōshi*.

²⁹³ Sanekata plays on the word *ayame*, which is a homonym that can mean iris (菖蒲) as well as style or design (文目).

²⁹⁴ According to Fukuda, these “geographies” (*fūdoki* 風土記) are generally taken as a category of texts on local geographies, rather than as a specific work titled *Fudōki* (see *Miyako no tsuto*, p. 335n33).

In front of the hut, I watched the moonlight as it played upon the waves that stretched wide before me in the deepening night, and my mind was clarified to hear the endlessly overlapping voices of the plovers calling to their mates.²⁹⁵

When dawn broke, I set out across a wide plain, and when I asked its name, they said, “Why, this is the Running Springs.”²⁹⁶ I heard that it was called this because travelers would hurry along, not just traveling quickly, but actually running, because of the many opportunities for mountain bandits to kill or harm them as they traversed the long, remote road with no familiar people to meet.

At times I would spread out my solitary mat in the terrible gales of the mountain ridge, or lie down in the dew of the fields; at times I would be awakened from my dreams by the waves beating upon the shore, or dampen my sleeves on my bed of floating sleep.²⁹⁷ When I happened to hear the weak call of a cricket coming from beside my grass

²⁹⁵ The plovers’ “endlessly overlapping voices” (*shiba naku koe* しば鳴く声) is a phrase found in the *Man’yôshû*, as in MYS 6: 925 by Akahito:

nubatama no	In the glistening darkness
yo no kufekyukeba	of the deepening night
hisaki ofuru	where the yellow catalpa grows
kiyoki kahara ni	on the shore of the clear river
chidori shibanaku	the plovers cries endlessly overlap

SNKBZ 7: 113-14

²⁹⁶ The name Running Springs (*Hashiri wi* 走井) plays on the meanings of “running,” through the image of the spring water running swiftly and powerfully, as well as of travelers rushing to cross the wide plains. This is almost certainly a different place than the famous Running Springs that is mentioned in the *Man’yôshû*, *Makura no sôshi*, and poetry of the imperial anthologies, which is located near the Ôsaka Barrier. However, Sôkyû emphasizes this difference in the next line, when he writes that there were no familiar people for him to meet along that remote road, unlike the one by the “Meeting Barrier” at Ôsaka (Afusaka no seki 逢坂関).

²⁹⁷ The phrase “floating sleep” (*ukine* 浮寝) suggests both floating in and out of sleep because of a troubled mind, and the danger of his pillow floating away in his copious tears. The phrase also suggests sleeping atop the water, as waterfowl do, referring

pillow, I realized that the time had come for the last leaves of autumn. As I became accustomed to the grass mats used by the fisher folk, so too, I came to know the workings of the tide by looking to the moon moving through the sky.

Thus proceeding distractedly and without destination, about twenty days after I had crossed the Shirakawa Barrier, I came to the shore of a wide river. Remarkably, this was the Abukuma River. This was the name of a place that had sounded so remote when I was in the Capital, and it made me realize what a great distance I had come.²⁹⁸ The ferry pulled to shore, and I hurried to board with the other travelers.²⁹⁹ I looked out far over the

literally to sleeping on a boat, which is another common hardship of travel at this time, and which is further indicated in the lines that follow.

²⁹⁸ Abukuma is an utamakura from its earliest appearance in *Kokinshû*, Poems of the East, no. 1087 (poet unknown):

A verse composed in Michinoku:

Abukuma ni	At Abukuma
kiri tachikumori	where the mist rises up in clouds
akenu to mo	even if it clears, even when day breaks,
kimi wo ba yaraji	I will not let you go
mateba subenashi	I cannot bear to wait

SNKBZ 11: 413

²⁹⁹ The events and phrasing here recall the story in *Tales of Ise* 9, “Journey to the East,” in which the traveling party reaches the shore of the Sumida River:

The party approached the edge of the river and waited together. *As they were thinking of the Capital, realizing with sorrow what a great distance they had come, the ferry driver called “Come quickly, board my boat, the sun is setting.”* They were boarding the ferry to cross, and they all felt helpless, for there was not one among the party who had not left a loved one in the Capital. At that moment, there was a white bird with a red beak and legs, about the same size as a snipe, that was skipping across the water and eating fish. Because it was a bird that one does not see in the Capital, it was unfamiliar to all of them. When they asked the ferry driver, he responded, “That is a capital bird.” The man heard this and composed:

water, and at one point there was smoke rising up out of the middle of the densely layered mountains. When I asked the others about this, someone said, “Ever since the Kamakura fell in the Genkô War, this column of smoke has never disappeared, to this very day.” An extraordinary tale, indeed.³⁰⁰

I got off the boat, and there, next to the road that I was traveling, was a single burial mound. On a tree next to it were written many poems in Chinese and Japanese, and I presumed it to be the work of people coming and going on that road, but someone told me, “This is the grave of the Chinese ancient, Prince Tôhei. He died here yearning for his homeland, and so the grasses and trees that grow on top of the mound all lean toward the west.”³⁰¹ I was quite moved by this, and thought of Shôkun, upon whose “green grave”

na ni shi ohaba	If that is your name
iza koto tohamu	I ask you,
miyakodori	capital bird,
wa ga omofu hito ha	is my beloved
ari ya nashi ya to	yet living, or no more?

SNKBZ 12: 122-23 (emphasis added). There is also a connection between the concern for loved ones in the Capital, expressed in the poem, and Sôkyû's discussion of the smoke rising from the mountains in the passage that follows.

³⁰⁰ The Genkô War lasted for the entire Genkô era (元弘 1331-1333), and ended when the Kamakura shogunate was defeated by the army of Nitta Yoshisada (新田義貞 1301-1338). This was the first period during which the Northern and Southern Courts were divided. Because Sôkyû, who had ties to Nijô Yoshimoto and members of the Northern Court, is traveling around 1350, this event is in the very recent past.

³⁰¹ Prince Dongping (J. Tôhei 東平 d. 78 C.E.) was born Liu Cang (J. Ryû Sô 劉蒼), the son of Emperor Guangwu (J. Kôbutei 光武帝 6 B.C.E – 57 C.E., r. 25-57 C.E.). He was named Prince Xian of Dongping in 41 C.E., and is said to have lived permanently in Japan, as is reflected in his dying and being buried in Japan. This gravesite is in fact located on the shore of the Natori River (Natorigawa), and not the Abukuma River. This story is treated in a poem from the collection of Chinese poetry and prose, *Honchô monzui* (本朝文粹 Fujiwara Hironari, ca. 1064):

東平王之思 ^ニ 旧里 ^ニ 也	Prince Tôhei's thoughts of his hometown
墳上之風 ^ノ 靡西	send westward the wind blowing over his grave

SNKBT 43: 166

even the color of the grass was changed.³⁰² Everyone believes that he who dies on a journey, after becoming the smoke of the midnight pyre, will drift toward his homeland, but I suppose that is a misguided delusion of this vain floating world.³⁰³ On top of the burial mound, there were many pine trees growing, and it struck me that they must be Unai pines. I remembered the examples of the old tales.³⁰⁴

furusato ha	My old home –
geni ika nareba	how is it that
yume to naru	after it becomes but a dream,
nochi sae nao mo	even then
wasurazaruran	I still cannot forget?

I continued on, and slept on the road in the shadow of the Takekuma Pines, losing myself in thought at the moon shining between its two trunks.³⁰⁵ I crossed the Natori

³⁰² Wang Zhaojun (J. Ô Shôkun 王昭君 1st c. B.C.E.), one of “Four great beauties” of Chinese history along with Yang Guifei, was promised to a neighboring king by an emperor of Han. Forced to live in a desert kingdom, she was said to have longed so desperately for home that after her death green grasses grew on top of her grave, which came to be known as the “green grave” (*aohaka* 青墓). Her story is recorded in poetry of the *Shi jing* (*Book of Odes* J. *Shikyô* 詩經) and the *Tang shi* (J. *Tôshi* 唐詩).

³⁰³ The “smoke of the midnight pyre” comes from *Go shûishû* (後拾遺集 1087) Travel, no. 503 (Kazan-in):

tabi no sora	On a journey
yoha no keburî to	smoke from a midnight pyre
noborinaba	drifting up in the sky
ama no moshiohi	looks as though the fisher folk
taku ka to ya mimu	are burning their salt and seaweed fires

³⁰⁴ Unai pines appear in the “Maboroshi” chapter of the *Genji monogatari*, but it is unclear to which “old tale” Sôkyû refers specifically. “Unai” is also a name of a certain hairstyle for young children.

³⁰⁵ The Takekuma Pines (武隈の松) is an *utamakura* site on the northern shore of Abukuma River. From its shared roots, the pines split into two trunks, and is also called the Twin Pines (*futaki no matsu* 二木の松). There is a famous poem by Priest Nôin in the *Go shûishû* (後拾遺集 1087), Miscellaneous IV, no. 1042:

River, and was moved at the thought of its waters flowing along, never to return.³⁰⁶ The “dew beneath the trees” of Miyagino Plains, too, was so heavy that I scarcely had time to pull out my rain hat.³⁰⁷ All the different flowers looked like a rich brocade spread out before me. In their midst, in the place called Motoara Village, I broke off a single branch of the bush clover, the color of which excelled all others, all the while thinking,

Miyagino no	When did Motoara Village,
hagi no na ni tatsu	like its namesake
Motoara no	bush clover
sato ha itsu yori	of the Miyagino Plains
are hajime kamu	begin to grow so wild? ³⁰⁸

Takekuma no	Takekuma Pines
matsu ha kono tabi	on this journey there is no trace
ato mo nashi	is it that I have come again
chitose wo hete ya	after one thousand years
ware ha kituramu	have already gone by?

³⁰⁶ The Natori River is an *utamakura*, famous for its appearance in *Shin kokinshû* Love, no. 628 (Mibu no Tadamine):

Michinoku ni	Natorigawa,
ari to iu naru	the river that is deep
Natorigawa	in the land of Michinoku,
naki na torite ha	where it was so bitter to earn
kurushikari keru	a reputation by false rumor

The language of this line in *Souvenirs*, particularly the “flowing water,” bears some resemblance to such Buddhist philosophical writing as the *Ten Foot Square Hut* (*Hojôki*).

³⁰⁷ This is an allusion to an anonymous poem in *Kokinshû*, Poems on the East, no. 1091:

misaburai	My lord
mikasa to mause	calls for a rain hat
Miyagino no	on Miyagino Plains
ko no shita tsuyu ha	the dew beneath the trees
ame ni masareri	is as heavy as rainfall

SNKBZ 11: 414

³⁰⁸ The origins of the *utamakura* Motoara Village is uncertain but for its use in *Kokinshû* Love IV, no. 694 (poet unknown):

People lived in this place long ago, but now it has become a plain entirely overgrown with brush, and I could see nothing but a single grass hut. I was touched to think of the sorrow that people felt long ago at the falling of these flowers.³⁰⁹ I have heard that, from the beginning, the bush clover of Motoara are said to bloom on the old branches left after the spring burning of the plains from the previous year. There is also a bush clover that is called a tree, whose branches are bare, and knobbier than ordinary bush clover.³¹⁰ I believe that they have been called Motoara cherries in poems, but now that I ask, I realized for the first time that it takes its name from the village.³¹¹

Miyagino no
Motoara no kohagi
tsuyu wo omomi
kaze wo matsu koto
kimi wo koso mate

The dew hangs heavily
from the bush clover of Motoara
on Miyagino Plains
it longs for the wind on its leaves
just as I long for you

SNKBZ 11: 269

³⁰⁹ Sôkyû's sadness is in part because now the people too, are gone, while only the bush clover remain, with no one to appreciate the blossoms or to mourn their falling. This is a reference to *Shûishû* Sorrow, no. (Fujiwara no Koretada):

inishie ha
chiru wo ya hito no
oshimikemu
hana koso ima ha
mukashi kofurashi

Long ago
the people once felt sorrow
at their falling
now it is the flowers
that long for that distant past

³¹⁰ The twisted, knobby branches suggest human cultivation at some point, another reminder that the inhabitants once attentive to their beauty have since disappeared. The different names that Sôkyû mentions are homophonous, but differ in meaning: wild bush clover (*kohagi* 小萩) and bush clover trees (*kohagi* 木萩).

³¹¹ The most famous examples of the Motoara cherry (*Motoara no sakura*) is by Sone no Yoshitada (曾禰好忠 early Heian), in *Fubokushô* (夫木抄 1310) Spring IV, no. 1071:

waga yado no
Motoara no sakura
sakanedomo
kokoro wo kakete
mireba tanomoshi

Though it does not bloom
the Motoara cherry
by my temporary lodging
I look with more feeling
and am heartened by what I see

After that, I came to Taga, the provincial seat of Michinoku. From there I followed what they called the narrow road to Oku southward to go and see Sue no Matsuyama.³¹² When I looked over the vast expanse of the pine forest, it truly seemed as though “the waves engulfed the pines.”³¹³ Even the “the fisher folk in their boats” appeared to be crossing a sea of treetops.³¹⁴

yûhi sasu	Evening sunlight
Sue no Matsuyama	at Sue no Matsuyama
kiri harete	perforates the treetops
akikaze kayou	mist clears as autumn wind
nami no ue kana	skirts over the tops of the waves

Just as the sun was setting, I arrived at Shiogama Bay. The sacred symbol of that temple is manifested as a salt cauldron, and I spent the night praying before it. There was a road with a tall bridge that crossed over an inlet that faces the eastern side of the bay. Another road skirted the waterside, and there was also a road running along the mountain,

³¹² Sue no Matsuyama (末の松山) is an *utamakura*. The “narrow road to Oku [the interior]” (*Oku no hosomichi* 奥の細道) refers here to a portion of the road from Sendai to Taga. This is included in such later travel journals as Dôkô’s *Kaikoku zakki* (*Notes from Wandering through the Provinces* 廻国雑記 1487) and Bashô’s *Oku no hosomichi* (*Narrow Road to Oku* 奥の細道 ca. 1690).

³¹³ An allusion to the anonymous poem in *Kokinshû* Poems of the East, no. 1093:

kimi wo okite	If I had such a fickle heart
adashigokoro wo	as to spurn my beloved
waga motaba	ocean waves would surely
Sue no Matsuyama	engulf the pines
nami mo koenamu	of Sue no Matsuyama

SNKBZ 11: 414. The image of waves engulfing the treetops of Sue no Matsuyama is presented as an impossibility, in a declaration of undying love.

³¹⁴ An allusion to a poem by Jakuren in *Shinkokinshû* Miscellaneous II, no. 1603:

Waka no ura wo	If I look at Waka Bay
matsu no ha koshi ni	as though its waves
nagamureba	have overtaken the pines,
kosue ni yosuru	then they are rowing across the treetops
ama no tsurifune	the fisher folk in their boats

SNKBZ 43: 465

fully in its shadow. The smoke rising up from all the houses of the fishermen, built in rows one after another, looked like it might be from the salt fires. The mooring lines of the boats paddling through the bay were strings pulling at my heart from this place.³¹⁵ I could hear the bracing sound of the slapping oars in the moonlight of the deepening night, and felt very lonely. A man of old said, “Among the more than sixty provinces of our emperor, there is no place that can be said to resemble Shiogama,”³¹⁶ and I thought it so:

ariake no	With the dawn moon receding
tsuki to tomo ni ya	over Shiogama Bay
Shiogama no	the boats follow
ura kogu fune mo	rowing farther
tôzakaruramu	farther from shore

³¹⁵ In the phrase “pulling at my heart” (*kokoro hiku* 心引く), pulling is an associated poetic word for the mooring rope of a boat (*tsunade* 綱手). The rope is an image in *Kokinshû* Poems of the East, no. 1088:

Michinoku ha	All of Michinoku is so
izuku ha aredo	but especially Shiogama
Shiogama no	with the mooring lines of the boats
ura kogu fune no	trailing as they rowing across the bay
tsunade kanashi mo	that inspires such sadness

SNKBZ 11: 413

³¹⁶ An allusion to the *Tales of Ise* 81, which tells of an old man who comes across a poetry party in the garden of a mansion on the Kamo River in the Capital. The man, who is charmed by the beauty of the scene and the people’s poems, responds:

Shiogama ni	Could it be that I have come
itsu ka kinikemu	to Shiogama somehow?
asanagi ni	If only, in the morning calm
tsurisuru fune ha	the fishing boats
koko ni yoranan	would come in to <i>this</i> place

He composed this poem. Because he had been to Michinoku, he had seen many places both strange and interesting, but among the more than sixty provinces of our emperor, there is no place that can be said to resemble Shiogama. This is why the old man, who was so touched by the scene before him, wondered whether he had somehow come to Shiogama.

SNKBZ 12: 183

From there, I went along the bay to visit Matsushima. It looked too elegant a place for fishermen to be making their homes. There is also a temple called Enpuku-ji here, which was founded by Zen Priest Kakuman, and which is said to be inhabited by one hundred monks.³¹⁷ In front of the temple, the Shiogama Bay stretches to the south, and although there are said to be one thousand islands of Chishima [Tousand Islands], they were so numerous as to appear infinite. In the expanse of sea that separated the one called Oki no Tōjima [Far Offshore Island] from where I stood, I could see many other islands. On an island to the east of Matsushima, accessible by a bridge, there was one temple called Godai-dō [Five Great Nobles], which, as its name suggests, enshrines the five Great Buddhas.³¹⁸

There was a narrow path paved with stones that followed the rocky shore, in the shadow of the eastern-facing mountains. When I went along it to take a look, there were trees growing at a sharp angles from a promontory, their tops sprayed on both sides by the ocean waves. The boats passing by looked altogether to be crossing through the green of the lower branches. There was a small island that was just a little distance away, and

³¹⁷ Zen Priest Kakuman (Kakuman zenji 覚満禪師) was the sixth generation priest of Enpuku-ji, in office 1306-08 (Tokuji era). Empuku-ji is the old name for Zuigan-ji (瑞巖寺) in Matsushima of present day Miyagi Prefecture. It was established as Empuku-ji (延福寺) in 838 (Jōwa 5; or, according to the temple origination, in 828/Tenchō 5) by Tendai Priest Ennin (円仁 or Jikaku 慈覚 794-864). Hōjō Tokiyori (北条時頼 1227-1263) renovated it and renamed it Empuku-ji (円福寺) in the Kamakura Period. After near destruction in the Ōnin Wars, it was rebuilt in 1609 (Keichō 14) and flourished as a family temple for the Date clan, when it was renamed as Zuigan Empuku-ji.

³¹⁸ In Mikkyō, the five Great Buddhas are Fudō (不動 center), Gōzanze (降三世 east), Kundari (軍荼利 south), Daiitoku (大威徳 west), and Kongōyasha (金剛夜叉 north).

this was none other than Ojima.³¹⁹ There was a rope between the islands, along which a small boat was traveling back and forth. There was a temple on Ojima, in which were installed the Amida Buddha and his attendants in a welcoming procession [*raigô*], and the Jizô Bodhisatva. I went south from Ojima, just one *chô* [109 meters] away, and there was a place of exceeding sacred beauty, thick with pines and bamboo, and deep with moss. For the people of this land, the bones of the departed are laid to rest here. Moreover, one could see scattered hair fasteners, from the topknots that had been cut off by those taking the Buddhist vows. I was deeply moved, and because I thought my mind would be purified here, I stayed for two or three days.

dare to naki	Those unknown departed
wakare no kazu wo	appear as countless
Matsushima ya	as the islands of Matsushima,
Ojima no iso no	as the number of tears shed
namida ni zo miru	on the beaches of Ojima.

I felt that it was time, now, to focus upon that road I had first traveled, and I found myself back in Musashino Plains. Here, quite unexpectedly, I came across a person from the Capital who asked me about such things as the Way of Poetry. Moreover, I met a few of my former acquaintances, and I was so overjoyed that I ended up accompanying them. When we went to the Horikane Well, I really felt that this would become the most

³¹⁹ Ojima is a famous island of Matsushima and an *utamakura*, not to be confused with the Ojima in Mino Province which, though not an *utamakura*, was the locus of much of Nijô Yoshimoto's travel journal, *Solace of Words at Ojima* (*Ojima no kuchizusami* 1353).

memorable part of my travels.³²⁰ I thought that this must be as when Priest Sosei met Narihira on Mount Utsu.³²¹

In the end, because it would have been a pity to pass by such a renowned place as Sue no Matsuyama with nothing more than a passing glance as I went along the road, I thought it would be nice to keep some memorabilia, like those men of old who took with them the wood chip from Nagara Bridge, or the dried frog from Ide.³²² While I was raking up some fallen pine needles, there were among them the type of pinecone that is called a *matsukasa*,³²³ and I gathered them up, along with some things that looked like empty shells from Shiogama bay. When I showed these to the man, he said,

³²⁰ An *utamakura* associated with Musashino Plains.

³²¹ See Mount Utsu in note 258. Priest Sosei (素性 early Heian), one of the Thirty-Six Poets, with poems in *Kokinshû* and *Gosenshû*. Ariwara no Narihira meets an anonymous monk in *Tales of Ise* no. 9:

Going along the road, the party came to Suruga Province. At Mount Utsu, the road that they considered taking was dark and narrow, and grown thick with ivy, and rather disturbing. As they worried that they might come face to face with some terror, they happened to meet a wandering monk. As the man asked, “Why are you going along such a road as this?” he saw that the monk was a friend of his. He wrote a letter for the monk to take to his beloved in the Capital, and attached a poem:

Suruga naru	In Suruga
Utsu no yamabe no	near Mount Utsu
utsutsu ni mo	neither in reality
yume ni mo hito ni	nor in my dreams
awanu narikeri	am I able to meet the one I love

SNKBZ 12: 121

³²² Nagara Bridge (長柄橋), an *utamakura* in Namba (present day Osaka). This is a reference to Nôin, who takes a piece of wood from the bridge as a souvenir. Ide (井出), in the southern part of present day Kyôto-fu, is an *utamakura* famous for the yellow Yamabuki rose and frogs. Both stories are included in the *Fukurozôshi* Miscellaneous section.

³²³ The word for this pinecone (*matsukasa*) is a homophonic pivot word for pine tree (*matsu*), and rain hat (*kasa*). Sôkyû and his companion play on these words in each of the poems to follow. Both poems also draw lines (*honkadori*) from *Kokinshû* no. 1093:

Sue no matsu
yama matsukasa ha
kitaredomo
namida ni kosaba
nataya nureran

Passing the mountain pines
of Sue no Matsuyama
though I don a pinecone rain hat
I am engulfed by waves,
soaked in tears

And I replied,

nami kosanu
sode sae nurenu
Sue no Matsu
yama matsukasa no
kage no tabine ni

The waves did not engulf me
yet my traveling sleeves were soaked
sleeping under the pinecone umbrella
in the shadows of the mountain pines
Sue no Matsuyama

I realized that this was one vow of friendship that would not crumble, even if the
pinecones were to rot away, and I soaked my sleeves with tears again. At this, the man
said,

tomonawade
hitori yukiken
Shiogama no
ura no shiogai
miru kai mo nashi

It is useless to look
at the salty shells
of Shiogama Bay
where you must have gone
without my company³²⁴

And I replied,

Shiogama no
urami no hate ha

There would have been no use
to collect these shells for you

kimi wo okite
adashigokoro wo
wa ga motaba
Sue no Matsuyama
nami mo koemu

If I had such a fickle heart
as to spurn my beloved
ocean waves would surely
engulf the pines
of Sue no Matsuyama

SNKBZ 11: 414 (see footnote 313).

³²⁴ An allusion to an anonymous poem in *Kokinshû* Miscellaneous I, no. 867:

murasaki no
hito moto yue ni
Musashino no
kusa ha minagara
aware to zo miru

If I had but a single blade
of the purple murasaki grass
at Musashino Plains
looking at all the grass
I would look with love for the one

The word *urami*, a *kakekotoba* that can mean either ‘gazing over the bay’ or
‘resentment’, is used in both this and the following poem.

kimi ga tame
hirou shiogai
hai ya nakaran

if you only resent
that I gazed over the waves
of Shiogama Bay³²⁵

I continued on as my heart led me, and as the days went by, without realizing it, my thoughts began to turn toward my homeland. I didn't set myself only to the road home, but my way back went rather quickly. One night at a traveler's inn, upon waking from the sleep of an old man, I turned to the wall, and in the remaining light of my lamp, put down my thoughts of all the famous places that I had passed on my travels, so as not to forget.³²⁶ I made note of them without speaking much about the specific circumstances, just as they came to me in my memories, and carried them with me to the Capital as souvenirs of my journey.

³²⁵ An allusion to *Kokinshû* no. 867 (see note 324). This poem plays on the words *kai* (O.J. *kahi*) as 貝 “shell” and 甲斐 “use;” and *urami* as 浦見 “looking at the bay” and 恨み “resentment.”

³²⁶ This line makes reference to three poems by Bai Juyi from the *Wakan rôeishû* Old Age, no. 723:

oi no nemuri ha hayaku samete
tsune ni yo wo nokosu
yamai no chikara ha mazu otoroete
toshi wo matazu

As I age I wake earlier from sleep
with nighttime remaining in abundance,
Illness creeps in with failing strength
if not simply because of age

SNKBZ 19: 378

In *Wakan rôeishû* Autumn Nights, no. 233:

aki no yo nagashi yo nagakushite
neru koto nakereba ama mo akezu
kôkôtaru nokon no tomoshibi no
kabe ni somuketaru kage
shôshôtaru kuraki ame no
mado wo utsu koe

Autumn nights are long, with long nights
and no sleep, the sky never brightens
The remaining light of the candle
throws my shadow on the wall
the falling rain in the darkness
is a voice that strikes the window

SNKBZ 19: 131

And in *Wakan rôeishû* Love, no. 781:

sekiden ni hotaru tonde
omoi shôzen tari
aki no tomoshibi kakage tsukushite
imada nemuru koto atawazu

I see fireflies flying in my sleeping chamber
and get lost in gloomy thought
On long autumn nights the candles burn out
yet I am unable to sleep

SNKBZ 19: 406-07

Appendix C

Solace of Words at Ojima

Ojima no kuchizusami: A Travel Journal by Nijô Yoshimoto

Introduction

Solace of Words at Ojima, (*Ojima no kuchizusami*) is a travel journal by Nijô Yoshimoto, a statesman and poet who found himself in the center of the conflict between the Northern and Southern courts in the early years of the Ashikaga shogunate. Yoshimoto, chief advisor as acting Regent to the young and newly established Emperor Go-Kôgon, was standing in opposition to his family line by serving Go-Kôgon and his Northern Court in Kyoto, the Capital of the day. When the rival Emperor Go-Daigo and his forces from their Southern Court in Yoshino moved to attack the Capital in the summer of 1353, Go-Kôgon and his supporters were forced to seek refuge in Ojima, a landholding that was under the responsibility of Toki Yoriyasu, a Provincial Governor sympathetic to Go-Kôgon's cause.

Yoshimoto stayed behind, and took refuge while he sought treatment for an illness, a type of malaria. He hurried out to join the imperial party about a month later, in the seventh month of 1353. While on the road, Yoshimoto and the other members of the imperial party faced uncertainty and discomfort, but found relief in the show of military support from the Shogun, Ashikaga Takauji, and his troops. With the help of Takauji and

his powerful forces, the road to the Capital, which was “so easily obstructed” in this chaotic turn of events, was opened once again to Yoshimoto and his Emperor. *Solace of Words at Ojima* is a record of this journey. It tells of a sudden and violent expulsion from the imperial palace at the center of the Capital, and of the splendid return that was to follow.

Solace of Words at Ojima

At the foot of Mount Ogura, relying upon my grass hut at Nakanoin to provide shelter in which to conceal myself, I was feeling terribly helpless, suffering from malaria and feeling even more as though this dew-like life will surely fade completely.¹ So I consulted with an elderly high priest in order to dispel my illness. Although he made a charm and conducted a healing rite, my fever did not abate.² Thinking, “The fever keeps returning,” I felt there was little hope for relief.³

In a letter from east of the Barrier, the Emperor wrote to me, “In a treacherous world such as this, what gives you the confidence to tarry even for a moment?”⁴ Correspondence such as this came one after another. Indeed, the state of the world is such

¹ Nakanoin is located on the eastern foot of Mount Ogura (Ogurayama) on the western outskirts of Kyoto. Mount Ogura is an *utamakura* famous for autumn leaves.

² The term “charm” (*funzukuri*) suggests a talisman or amulet, but another version of the text suggests an inscription (*fumu*). In Esoteric Buddhism, a healing rite (*kaji*) involves holding a symbolic object while chanting a prayer.

³ Yoshimoto’s illness is a type of malaria in which he suffers from a recurring fever. He refers here to the “Young Murasaki” chapter of the *Genji*, which opens with Genji turning to various practitioners for treatment of his malaria. But because his fever persists, Genji decides to go to the Northern Hills (Kitayama) to seek help from a famous priest there.

⁴ The letter is from Emperor Go-Kôgon, who has already gone to Ojima in Mino province. The “Barrier” Yoshimoto mentions here refers either to the Ôsaka or the Fuwa, two points though which all travel the the east of the capital typically pass. The treachery mentioned in Go-Kôgon’s letter is the Southern Court’s invasion of the capital, and he urges Yoshimoto not to linger there.

that one cannot find refuge even in a rock cave.⁵ With the frequent news of the ferocious storms blowing through the pines, I wondered in vain about the concealed mountain trail on which I could rely.⁶ And so, a little after the twentieth day of the seventh month, when it was still deep in the moonlit night, I departed from my hut, my thoughts fixed on the long road to the east. I felt a deep sadness in those thoughts. Even so, I managed to calm myself in thinking that, although I have never ventured beyond the Osaka Barrier in my official capacity, because I exert my utmost in the spirit of serving the realm, why would not the gods and buddhas come to my aid.⁷

That night, I arrived at Sakamoto, my first stop.⁸ The mountain priests were an energetic lot and, to my surprise, had been happily waiting my arrival.⁹ They helped me shake the dew from the grass mats of my journey, and made every preparation for me, saying, “please make your bed here tonight, my lord.” I passed the night thus brightened with their care.

The next day my fever returned, and I spent the day gazing about in useless seclusion. When the following day dawned, I set out in a boat and arrived at the opposite

⁵ Here Yoshimoto imagines his hut on the outskirts of the capital as a remote place among the rocks (*iwao no naka*). This is a reference to *KKS Misc. II*, no. 952 (poet unknown): “How deep a mountain cave must I hide in? No matter how far away I live, will news of the terrible things of this world yet reach my ears?” (「いかならん巖の中に住まばかは世の憂きことの聞えござらむ」 *SNKBT v. 5*, p. 286).

⁶ By “frequent news of storms blowing through the pines,” Yoshimoto suggests the attacks of the Southern Court upon the capital. In speculating that there is no reliable place to hide near the Capital, he refers to *KKS Misc. II*, no. 955 (Mononobe no Yoshina 物部良名): “I resolve to enter a mountain path whence I cannot see the sorrows of this world—in doing this, the one I love has become a shackles” (「世の憂き目見えぬ山路に入らむには思ふ人こそほだしなりけれ」 *SNKBT v. 5*, p. 287).

⁷ By “official capacity,” Yoshimoto means his appointment as Regent.

⁸ Sakamoto lies in the northeastern foothills of Mt. Hie, on the southwest shore of Lake Biwa. It is not an *utamakura*.

⁹ The ordained monks (*sōryō*) and warrior monks (*sōhei*) of Enryaku-ji.

shore [of Lake Biwa]. Although the crossing was not a great distance, it was a dreadful feeling to ride on something that rocked as much as our small boat did.

On that day, suffering thus, I arrived at Moruyama.¹⁰ Its name is known far and wide, but it is not an especially impressive place. Tsurayuki's poem, "the drizzling rain soaks to the skin," was surely about this area, and I was immediately reminded of that ancient event.¹¹

Moruyama no shitaba wa imada iro zukade uki ni shigururu sode zo tsuyukeki	While the lower leaves at Mount Moruyama are as yet untouched with color showered in sorrow, my sleeves are already drenched with dew
--	---

My mood was so bitter that I could not continue composing poems.

I went on in this way, and reached a place called Noji no Shinohara, or something of the sort.¹² My ears recognized the name as a famous name, but in truth, this was the first time I had ever set foot in this place.

tsuyukesa wo omohi wo kuran hito mogana Noji no Shinohara shinobu miyako ni	Would there was someone concerned about my hardships amidst the dew at Noji no Shinohara I long for the capital
---	---

Next, we passed a mountain called Mirror. I wanted to "approach to look," but my destination was far and I was rushing along, so I passed, leaving it as little more than a sight along the road.¹³

¹⁰ Moruyama is on the eastern coast of Lake Biwa. It is an utamakura, famous for its autumn leaves.

¹¹ KKS Autumn II, no. 260 (Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之): "The white dew and the drizzling rain soak to the skin—Moruyama, where all the leaves, even on the lowest branches, have turned color" (「白露も時雨もいたくもる山は下葉残らず色づきにけり」SNKBT v. 5, p. 90).

¹² Literally, the name means "bamboo-grass fields along the wild trail," and thus reflects Yoshimoto's distaste for being on the road in the middle of nowhere.

harubaru to
yukusue tôku
Kagamiyama
kakete kumoranu
miyo zo shiraruru

So far, so far,
our destination lies,
Mount Mirror,
I look to your unclouded peak,
and know the long-lived splendor of his reign

I presented a celebratory air, only hinting at the wish that lay within my heart, which people could not know. It was very difficult indeed.

Looking out over the place called Oiso Forest,¹⁴ it is simply the treetops of cedars and nothing else, and there are no other kinds of trees among them. We climbed a little way up the base of the mountain and gazed out, and there were many wonderful sights to be seen. I continued along the road, and as the day came to a close, some villagers carrying a palanquin approached. The villagers called out to us, asking, “As you make your journey, where will you be stopping for the night?” An elderly nun emerged from the palanquin, and when we learned that she was something of a learned person in the area, I asked her, “The views of this forest are deeply moving to look upon. What is its name?” And to this she replied, “This forest is a famous place of old. Its name is as ancient as the years of an old nun are many.” Meeting a person who spoke with such elegance, I forgot that I was among such countrified folk, and I was greatly moved.

ima wa mi no
Oiso no mori zo
yoso naranu
misoji amari mo
sugi no shita kage

Not unfamiliar
to my body now
the aging Forest of Oiso
having passed more than thirty years
beneath the shade of the cedars

¹³ Mount Mirror (Kagamiyama) is an utamakura. Yoshimoto quotes from *KKS Misc. I*, no. 899 (poet unknown): “Mt. Mirror! Well, I will go forth, approaching to look—the years that go by, piling up on this aged body, make me know old age has come” (「鏡山いざ立寄りて見て行かむ年経ぬる身は老いやしぬると」 *SNKBT v. 5*, p. 271).

¹⁴ Oiso Forest (Oiso no mori) is located southeast of Lake Biwa. It is an utamakura associated with the cuckoo.

My illness had flared up again, so I stopped for one night. I had enjoyed only a few days free of symptoms. I have not been able to go smoothly along the road to my destination, and only the number of days seems to increase, without progress.

Next, while crossing what I believe was called Yasu River:¹⁵

itsu made to	How much longer
sode uchinurashi	sleeves soaked in tears
Yasugawa no	can I struggle to cross
yasugenaki yo o	the untr tranquil river Yasu,
watarikanuran	the wild waters of this unpeaceful world

Such places as Mount Toko in Inukami, and Isaya River did not exactly stand out, and so I did not remark where we were.¹⁶ Although I wanted to inquire into well-known places, it is inconvenient to keep seeking elegance under the skies of this sort of journey, and so I passed right through them. As for my wasting condition in the countryside, as they say, “Tell no one of my fickle repute, even in the aftertime.”¹⁷ And I certainly longed to order these mountain people into silence.¹⁸ Nearing Mount Ibuki, I gazed

¹⁵ Yasu River (Yasugawa) is an *utamakura*. Yoshimoto contrasts the word “easy, tranquil” (*yasushi*), a homonym of the name Yasu River, against the difficulty of travel and life in general. The words “river” (*kawa*) and “crossing” (*watari*) are associated words.

¹⁶ Mount Toko: *KKS Love III*, no. 1108 (Empress Saimei): “Oh, unknowing River Isaya at Mount Toko of Inugami—answer, No, I don’t know! and do not let slip my name!” The final phrase plays on the meaning of “name” as “reputation,” and can also mean, “Tell no one of my fickle repute, even in the aftertime.” (「犬上の鳥籠の山なる不知哉川いさと答へてわが名漏らすな」 SNKBT v. 5, p. 336).

¹⁷ This phrase recalls the line, “do not let slip my name!” in the poem about Inukami, Mount Toko, and Isaya River, above (see note 16).

¹⁸ A reference to “The Twilight Beauty” (Yûgao) chapter of the *Genji*, which also uses the phrase, “do not let slip my name!” When Genji and his lover, Yûgao, go together to a remote estate, a low-ranking steward, seeing that Genji is traveling without his usual entourage, asks whether he should summon additional help, and Genji “orders him to silence” with a sharp command: “Genji quickly silenced him. ‘I came here purposely to hide. Say not a word about this to anyone’” (Tyler, p. 65). (「さらに心よりほかにもらすな」と口固めさせ給ふ。SNKBT v. 19, p. 119).

across at it from afar, meaning to get to its base, and thinking that while it was not quite in the clouds, it was very close to being so.¹⁹

At a place called Ono, we happened to meet Bishop Kenshun of Sanbô-in Temple, the son of the Hino Major Councillor Toshimitsu.²⁰ Kenshun said that he was out traveling because he had some urgent business that had him rushing to Ômi province, and so he stopped his palanquin beside mine, and we met thus tucked away deep in the woods. In the midst of all these disturbances, his fatigue at the long journey in the countryside was shockingly clear in his appearance. Shortly thereafter, Kenshun continued on in the direction of the Capital. This place shares a name with Ono, which one hears frequently in the old poetry. But because this one was not the Ono that was the residence of Prince Koretaka, it would surely have felt vain and shallow to feel especially about it.²¹

Going along in this way, we came across a great mountain crag that soared above the shadow of the pines, with water springing out from over the rocks. The flowing water was extremely pure and clear. Truly, it looked like a place that was unknown to the

¹⁹ Mount Ibuki is an utamakura. The phrase, “the cloud realm” is likely a reference to the *Priest Nyogan Collection* (*Nyogan hôshi shû*), no. 73 (Priest Nyogan 如願法師): “It looks as though the mugwort is burning—the clouds hovering over the slopes of Mount Ibuki” (「さしも草あらはにもゆと見ゆるかな伊吹の山にかかるむら雲」). The “clouds” in this poem are an image that suggests the faint smoke of burning mugwort (*sashimo*), the latter of which is much more frequently associated with Mount Ibuki. The image of clouds could also be a more general reference to the court, for which clouds are a metaphor to mean something like: “Looking across at Ibuki Pass, the cloud realm [the court], while standing apart, seemed closer and was visible from far away as if we were approaching the foothills.”

²⁰ Monzeki worked closely with Ashikaga Takauji and the Northern Court network. His father, Hino Major Councillor Toshimitsu (1260-1326), is of Fujiwara lineage.

²¹ Koretaka (惟喬親王 844-897), imperial prince and first son of Emperor Montoku (文徳 827-858, r. 850-858). Koretaka’s younger brother, Korehito (惟仁 850-881), received support from the Fujiwara to become Emperor Seiwa (清和 r. 858-876) while Koretaka went into seclusion in a residence in Ono, which later became known as The Ono Palace. A friend of the poet Ariwara Narihira, he is also known from his appearance in the Ise monogatari.

world. This must have been Samegai springs.²² Not long after that was a hanging bridge and a small hall. The scene was pretty, but here too, the stream of Samegai springs was beyond compare, with its water flowing out over the rocks, and running exceedingly clear. They brought out something called a *hisago* to wash our hands. This made the water very auspicious.²³

ima yori ya	From now on
ukarishi yume mo	I will awake from troubled dreams
Samegai no	and look ahead with confidence
mizu no nagarete	where flows the pure water
sue wo tanomamu	of Samegai springs ²⁴

All that remained of the Fuwa Barrier, already in ruins, were bits of a door and its frame. It looked indeed as though it could not even stand up to an autumn wind.²⁵

mukashi dani	Because it was already
arenishi fuwa no	in ruins long ago, Fuwa,
seki nareba	the indestructible barrier—
ima wa sanagara	such as it is, now,
na nomi narikeri	it is only a name

The name of the river Fujikawa of the Barrier, too, is full of memories, and so we made sure to ask about it.²⁶ Though its name is quite famous, it is in truth nothing more

²² Samegai Springs is an utamakura that also appears in *Izayoi nikki* and *Tōkan kikō*. In the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, when Yamato Takeru falls ill at Mount Ibuki, he goes to Samegai Springs and is healed by drinking its pure water.

²³ A *hisago* is a kind of gourd that, split in half, can be used as a ladle. The monks in the small temple there likely brought it out to Yoshimoto and his party. This is auspicious because “hisago” is a variant pronunciation of a term for “afterlife” (後世).

²⁴ This poem can also be read as a comment on the purity of the Springs and its spiritual effects: “From now on, I will awaken from the delusions of this sorrowful world, I can count on the afterlife to come, the destination to which the pure water flows.”

²⁵ The Fuwa Barrier is an utamakura. The phrase “already in ruins” is a reference to the early Kamakura period (late 12th c.), a time now long past from Yoshimoto’s perspective, and yet the Fuwa Barrier was even then already in ruins. This, and the image of the autumn wind are reflected in the poem SKKS Misc. 2, no. 1601 (Fujiwara Yoshitsune 藤原良経): Deserted—the eaves of the Fuwa Barrier station have gone to ruin—inhabited only by an autumn wind after the storm (「人住まぬ不破の関屋の板庇荒れにし後はただ秋の風」).

than a small river, and one couldn't tell that it had been flowing for a myriad ages. Nonetheless, the many examples of times in which it continued to flow were very reassuring.

sate mo naho	Even in this state
shizumanu na wo ya	I would that your name
todomemashi	will ever remain
kakaru fuchise no	just as these pools and shallows have—
Seki no Fujikawa	Fujikawa of the Barrier

When I heard that Mount Mino and such places were close to the area around Ojima, today, finally, my mood settled a bit, knowing that my destination was not far.²⁷ The famed Lone Pine, which resembled its name, has also remained as it was.²⁸ Why had I not inquired and listened more closely to the stories of the common locals about the reason for these traces having remained unchanged—I regretted it long afterwards.

ukarikeru	Worn and weary,
Mino no Oyama no	like the waiting pine
matsu goto mo	on the august mountain
geni tagui naki	Oyama of Mino that yet stands
yo no tameshi kana	a matchless example in the world

Thus, taking five or six days to traverse a road of two or three days travel, at long last we arrived at Ojima. It was the scenery of an unfamiliar place, with mountains rising high to the right and left, around which clouds hung thickly, without any clear sky showing through. Indeed, “If there is anything that is so incomparably poignant, it is this

²⁶ Fujikawa of the Barrier (Seki no Fujikawa), a small river to the west of the Fuwa Barrier. An utamakura.

²⁷ The august Mount Mino (Mino no Oyama), an utamakura.

²⁸ Lone Pine (Hitotsumatsu), an utamakura associated with Mount Mino. *SKKS Love 5*, no. 1408, Ise: “Remember! The promise you made with the single pine at Mino no Oyama—I never will forget.” (「思ひ出づや美濃の御山の一つ松契りしことはいつも忘れず」).

place.”²⁹ The beauty of the deep mountains in this time of autumn completely captured my soul, and the inexpressible pathos of things was beyond words.³⁰ The calls of the deer and the cries of the insects—the signs of that other autumn that I heard there in the shade of the pines leading up to this place—now felt diminished in significance, and I wondered at how one’s impressions are wholly shaped by the qualities of a place. Since we had already gone by Mount Obasute, where the sky above us should have cleared our hearts, we nonetheless remained completely unsettled.³¹ Therefore, before entering the room occupied by Middle Counselor Nijô, I first had to pause to compose myself.³²

Because of the state of this lodging, with its eaves of pampas grass, doors of woven bamboo, and the sparsely slatted floors through which the wind was blowing ceaselessly up, it was painful to spend even one night here.³³ Well, although we had hurried the entire day, we had hurried to arrive even one day early, and today we finally approached the Temporary Palace at Ojima.³⁴ The rain fell continuously, darkening the day, and the sleeves of my informal dress became more and more drenched. Perhaps taken by the novelty of seeing us in court dress and caps, many men who looked like

²⁹ Yoshimoto quotes from the “Suma” Chapter of the *Genji*, in which the sound of the wind overwhelms Genji with its sadness during his sleepless first night at his temporary lodgings in Suma: “If there is anything that is so incomparably poignant, it is autumn in this place.” (「またなくあはれなるものは、かかる所の秋なりけり」 SNKBT v. 20, p. 31).

³⁰ Possible reference to *KKS Sorrow*, no. 839 (Tadamine): “At this time of autumn, every time I see a parting between two people, I am reminded of the one I loved” (「時しも秋やは人の別るべきあるを見るだに恋しきものを」 SNKBT v. 5, p. 252).

³¹ Mount Obasute (Obasuteyama), an utamakura in Shinano province. *KKS Misc I*, no. 878 (poet unknown): “My heart is soothed at Mount Obasute in Sarashina, looking at the moon shining on the landscape” (「わが心なぐさめかねつ更級やをばすて山に照る月をみて」 SNKBT v. 5, p. 265).

³² Middle Counselor Fujiwara Yoshifuyu (藤原良冬), who would have been Yoshimoto’s subordinate by only a few levels.

³³ Another reference to the “Suma” Chapter of the *Genji*.

³⁴ Tongû, a term for the Emperor’s lodgings while on an imperial excursion. Also called a “borrowed palace” (*karimiya*).

peasants came down from the mountains and looked, staring openly at us. As for the appearance of the court, the building roofs were made of wooden boards, which was rare in this area. And the mountains themselves went right up to the eaves, leaving no opening through the clouds and mist. I was eventually summoned before His Highness, and I made a report on the recent situation. He spoke of many moving things, including telling about the chaotic moments of his flight from the mountain.³⁵

That evening, we visited a temple called Zuigan-ji, asking for a place to stay. This temple's main hall had many beautiful features. It was built so that it was deep in the shade of the mountain, and the crags and trees, the flowing of the water, and other features of the place—even if this were in the midst of the capital, a place such as this could not be more captivating in its landscaping.

The next day, I spent the entire day ill. I lay awake in great discomfort until dawn. But, about the vulnerable loneliness of nights on the road, there is little else that one can do.

itodo mata	Nights on the road—
uki ni ukisou	their misery and gloom
tabine kana	only increase—
ukare kokochi no	my troubled heart floats along
yume no magire ni	tangled up in dreams

They opened up Lord Tokimitsu's rooms, which had been designated for me, and in two or three days, it felt as though I were living in the palace.³⁶ When I reported to the Emperor the political situation and private news communicated by Bishop Kenshun, His

³⁵ Here, “the mountain” refers to Enryaku-ji Temple on Mount Hie, in the northeast limits of the capital, where Go-Kôgon took refuge before he fleeing to Ojima.

³⁶ Lord Tokimitsu (時光朝臣) of the Hino Fujiwara line. At the time he held the position of Middle Controller of the Left (藏人頭左中弁). One role of this post was to record the Emperor's confidential documents.

Majesty said, “Since you have come all this way, our promise to line up our beds next to each other is even less likely to waver.”

At this, I responded:

shirazariki	I had not known
narawanu yama no	that we shared such a bond—
kage made mo	that we would line up our beds
yuka wo narabemu	even into the shadows of this mountain
chigiri ari to wa	to which we are so unaccustomed

How ridiculous to unearth these ancient legends harking back to the era of the gods!³⁷

After that, from morning until night, when I was attending the Emperor, there was nothing that varied from before [during life at court]. Because the Kamakura Major Counselor [Takauji] was supposed to come up, there had been an imperial letter commanding him to that effect, and a confirmation was expected, so everyone, officials and private individuals alike, found comfort in that.

On the fifth day of the eighth month, in the midst of rainfall, His Majesty gave out topics for poems and I presented these:

Love and Cosmos

omokage wo	Gazing together at the moon
Noyama no sue ni	as it lingers over the ridge of Noyama—
nokose toya	Was it to leave behind our reflections
tsuki wo katami ni	that we exchanged our vows of love
chigiri okikemu	before the moon as a memento? ³⁸

Travel

³⁷ The phrase, “line up our beds” in Go-Kôgon’s comment, and Yoshimoto’s poem in response, is a reference to the 8th century *Nihon shoki*, a compilation of such “ancient legends” to which Yoshimoto refers.

³⁸ Literally, the poem says, “That we should leave behind our reflections to the very end of the wild mountains—was it for this we exchanged our vows of love before the moon as a memento?” The diction is strongly associated with love poetry. With the Emperor as the implied recipient, it connotes loyalty even in an extreme political situation.

yokogumo no
nami kosu mine mo
honobono to
yagate Ojima no
kage zo akeyuku

As waves of clouds
recede over the peak,
the faintly visible outline of Ojima
soon the island appears
as night brightens into dawn³⁹

People say that because this is the first poem that has been presented in this place, the poetry gathering was the first of its kind. There were many verses composed, but the Emperor has chosen not to have them recorded and so they are all forgotten. Of course, I did not record those impromptu poems that were less than successful, because they were highly unsuitable. There were also many verses that grated on the ear, among them some composed by the Emperor. I did not record these poems, but others probably did so, and so I must find them out later and add a selection of them to my record.⁴⁰

Around the tenth day of the 8th month—what day was it I wonder—ahead of the autumn rain, I attached a letter written on thin safflower paper onto a branch deep with autumn color, and had Nakafusa deliver it for me.⁴¹ In it, the emperor had written:

mada shiranu
miyamagakure ni
tazunekite
shigure mo matanu
kôyo wo zo miru

I have come to see the leaves
hidden deep in these
yet unfamiliar mountains—
they have already turned crimson
without even waiting for the autumn rains

And in reply I wrote:

Furusato ni
kaeru miyuki no
ori kara ya
momiji no nishiki

It is time
for my Lord's journey back
to his Capital, our hometown—
that must be why the brocade of red leaves

³⁹ This takes as its base poem (*honkadori*) *SKKS*, Spring I (Fujiwara): “The mist rises over the tops of the pines at Sue no Matsuyama—while overhead the waves of clouds, faintly, receding in the sky” (「霞立つ末の松山ほのぼのと浪に離るる横雲の空」).

⁴⁰ The topics themselves seem to have been announced rather suddenly, so the reason for the “impromptu” poems is perhaps that the poets had too little time to prepare sufficiently.

⁴¹ Madenokôji Nakafusa (万里小路仲房 1323-1388) was Senior Fourth Rank Upper and 31 years old at this time.

must have been how that man of old was feeling when he wrote “old friends, two thousand miles away.”⁴⁸ The wind, after blowing continuously all night, finally quieted down at dawn. Saying that we still mustn’t neglect tonight’s moon, the Emperor passed out poem cards to people.⁴⁹ This was not like the usual amusements at court in the capital; the appearance of the courtiers in unfamiliar ebisu clothes gave them the look of warriors. Still they looked ready to battle over their poetry, each moved by his thoughts of the moment.⁵⁰

The evening wind picked up again, and soon enough the moon rose clear and high in the sky, flooding the land with its light even into the mountain interior, leaving no shadows at all. Feeling as though I was being given an early sign of His Majesty’s cloudless reign, I was filled with hope for the future.

na ni takaki	Its famed light—
hikari o miyo no	is it a sign
tameshi to ya	of His Majesty’s reign?
monaka no aki no	So pure the moon
tsuki wa sumuran	at the height of autumn ⁵¹

As for the arrival of the Kamakura Major Counselor,⁵² we kept hearing about it though people excitedly saying, “It’s today! It’s today!” But this same thing continued over

⁴⁸ The “man of old” is in fact Genji during his exile in Suma, who cites the same Chinese poem that Yoshimoto does here, by Bai Juyi (Po Chu-i 白居易, 722-846). The poem is in the *Wakan rôeishû* (和漢朗詠集), no. 242: Midnight of the Autumn Equinox is as dark as the night of a new moon—thinking of my old friend, two thousand miles away. (「三五夜中新月色、二千里外故人心」).

⁴⁹ Poem cards (sometimes translated as “poem slips” *tanzaku*) are narrow sheets of thick mulberry paper for writing down poems.

⁵⁰ Literally, the “flower of the leaves of words,” that is, poetry, the beautiful product of words, a reference to Ki no Tsurayuki’s *Preface to the Kokin shû* (905).

⁵¹ This plays the name of the full moon of the autumn equinox (the 15th day of the 8th lunar month, *chûshû no meigetsu*) against the idea of fame while also constructing an image of the moon high up in the sky (*na takaki*).

⁵² The Kamakura Dainagon (鎌倉大納言), Ashikaga Takauji

several days, and so the Emperor, worried, dispatched a messenger again and again.

Word came, both official and private, indicating that it is certain to be anytime now, and so everyone seemed to relax again.

The courtiers, who had come in droves from the capital, banded together in various groups, going on excursions to famous places here and there. But I felt even more as though my heart was enclosed and drenched with the dew in a dense thicket of vines.⁵³ Not even such friends could draw me away from the gloom night and day, as if “autumn was meant for me alone,” and I thus found no solace.⁵⁴ Some people told me that there is a place called ShinnyoYôrô falls, and if you go there and immerse yourself in its flowing waters, your illnesses will be cured on the spot. But I did not venture out to any such place.⁵⁵

Deep in the night, the sounds of the fulling mallets drifted to my ears and I thought that someone must have their dwelling here.⁵⁶ There is a place called Nezame Village in this area. Indeed, these nights lying awake upon my grass pillow until dawn—

⁵³ There is the insinuation that Yoshimoto is thinking of the ivy that was surely overtaking his abode in the capital, which indicates that it is falling into ruin.

⁵⁴ The phrase is a reference to *KKS* no. 193, Autumn I (Ôe no Chisato): “When I look at the moon I am struck by the sadness of a myriad things—autumn was meant for me alone” (「月見れば 千々に物こそ悲しけれ我身一つの秋にはあらねど」).

⁵⁵ Shin’nyoYôrô Falls. See Yoshimoto’s discussion of Empress Genshō’s visit to Yôrô Falls, below, p. 18.

⁵⁶ A fulling block (*kinuta*) is a seasonal poetic image associated with autumn. There is a scene in the Yugao chapter of *Genji monogatari* in which Genji is caught up in the poetic feelings of autumn as he listens to such sounds as striking mallets upon the fulling block and geese flying overhead: “The sound of snowy robes being pounded on the fulling block reached him from all sides, and wild geese were crying in the heavens. These and many other sounds roused him to painfully keen emotion” (Tyler, p. 63). This, in turn, refers to a poem from the *Wakan rôeishû* (no. 241): “On the loom where she weaves embroidery, / already can be discerned the words of love. / On the blocks where clothes are full, / suddenly are added sounds of sadness at parting” (trans. Rimer, in Rimer and Chaves, p. 83).

nothing gives the feeling of “autumn night” so much as this.⁵⁷ The garden of this court ran right up to rice fields, and because Mt. Inaba was not far, there would be nothing to wait for were it not for my hope to return again to the capital.⁵⁸

omoiki ya	Did I think it?
omoi mo yoranu	Something I had not imagined
karine kana	this unthinkable exile—
inaba no tsuki o	gazing, in the garden,
niwa ni nagamete	at the moon over the rice fields of Inaba

Absorbed in pointless thoughts like these, I yet found comfort in them for myself alone.

At the end of the eighth month, word came that Takauji had already reached Owari, and on the 25th of that month, we went from the Ojima palace on an imperial progress to Tarui Springs. Unlike the usual proceedings for such an event, the Emperor rode in a palanquin. There was no one in courtier dress there, and it was novel to see all the figures dressed in ebisu wear. The various processions of departure were quite interesting. It was the first time that the Emperor’s palanquin was draped with a cloth decorated with gilt phoenix, but it was quite fitting to do so in this case.⁵⁹ It was improper for the rustic commoners to gaze upon the Emperor, and so I had this arrangement made.

⁵⁷ Nezame Village is literally “Sleepless Village” (*Nezame no sato*). “Grass pillow” is a common term that refers to the loneliness and uncertainty of travel, with no shelter upon which to reply, particularly the emotional and physical discomfort of spending nights away from one’s home and belongings.

⁵⁸ This line is a reference to *KKS Parting*, no. 365, Ariwara no Yukihiro: “I set out from Mount Inaba, where grow the pines—the moment I hear that you are waiting, I will come back to you” (「立別れいなばの山の峰に生ふる松とし聞かば今帰り来む」). The primary poetic images associated with Mount Inaba (*Inaba no yama*) are rice fields and rice stalks (this comes from the word *inaba*, which can mean rice stalks), as well as the images of returning, waiting, and pine trees.

⁵⁹ The special brocade cloth (*hōren katabira*) was draped over the roof of his palanquin, probably to obscure him from view of the commoner locals on the road.

As for our temporary palace at Tarui Springs, Yoriyasu, the provincial military governor of Mino province, carried out an order to build one.⁶⁰ The Emperor's residence was made of whole logs with the bark still on. There was a low brush fence around it, and the sacred air over the whole gave the feeling of a ritual imperial Rice Festival building.⁶¹ When the Emperor entered his palace, I don't know whence the people had come, but there was a large crowd that had gathered for the spectacle. Lord Sanekiyo attended His Majesty for the sword ceremony.⁶² The proceedings at that time were in no way different from the usual ceremony at court.

It was hard to endure the wind blowing through the sleeping chambers, and so we went out looking for another lodging, feeling that some people's idea of comfort were quite distant from the usual. This area is not much taken up as a famous place, but when the Lord Takatsune undertook the post of Provincial Governor of Mino, and recited the poem "the shadow cast," perhaps he was referring to this Tarui springs water.⁶³

Even as I say it, on the night of the 26th, the party was agitated because there was a rumor that a clan of the Hachiya, traitors in Ômi, was going to attack here in Mino

⁶⁰ Toki Yoriyasu (土岐頼康 1318-88), is the provincial military governor (*shugo*) of Mino province at this time.

⁶¹ The imperial Rice Festival (*Daijô-sai*, or *Ôname matsuri*), in which a newly-enthroned Emperor makes a first ceremonial offering of rice to the gods. A banquet was typically held afterward. For this occasion, a complex is newly constructed, and the complex is made up of at least three buildings that are all enclosed within a brushwood fence.

⁶² Hashimoto Sanekiyo (橋本実澄 dates unknown).

⁶³ Fujiwara no Takatsune (藤原隆経 dates unknown), a poet and official active during the mid-Heian period, went to Mino province around 1069 to serve as provincial governor for about four years. The poem Yoshimoto cites here is one of Takatsune's, in the *Shikashû*, Miscellaneous II: "The water of Tarui springs that I once saw have not changed, but the shadow I cast—it has increased in years" (「昔見し垂井の水は変わらねど映れる影ぞ年を経にける」).

province.⁶⁴ The road to the Capital is so easily obstructed these days, I thought, and simply hearing of this made me uneasy. That evening, everyone was in an uproar, and as they went about crying loudly that the Hachiya would soon be approaching, people came to gather at the imperial lodgings. We were in great turmoil over what we should do, and feeling that in these circumstances we would surely lose our lives. We were distressed beyond words. However, at daybreak there was the report that nothing out of the ordinary took place. So, feeling as though we were emerging from a dream, we all dispersed. The tumult over preparing the horses for flight, and considering where His Majesty could go on such short notice was all beyond words. There is no question but that I have to record the memory of it here now.

Then, on the third day of the ninth month, the Shogun [Takauji] arrived at Tarui. His appearance was a fortuitous and splendid thing. Over the first two or three days, the warriors arrived at their various quarters, riding in procession without gaps between them. The train of heavy luggage for travel that they had brought along stretched like a long band of fabric far down the road. And with all this going on, now I finally felt at ease. The Major Councilor [the Shogun Takauji] was dressed in gold brocade beneath his full armor, and rode a chestnut-colored horse. Leading the ranks were such men as Yûki, Oda and Satake.⁶⁵ The armor of various colors—the helmets with their prongs that gleamed as though there were water dripping down them and their tips sparkling in the light—shone in the evening sunlight. It gave a feeling like the festivities to be held that

⁶⁴ By “traitors,” Yoshimoto means supporters of the Southern court. The Hachiya (蜂屋) were one family in Ômi province that aligned itself with the Southern court, and had been battling with one Minamoto family throughout Mino and Ômi since the fourth month of that year.

⁶⁵ Possibly Yûki Naohitsu (結城直光 1330-1395), Oda Haruhisa (小田治久 1283-1353), and Satake Yoshiatsu (佐竹義篤 1311-1362).

day,⁶⁶ and every one of them looked as though they sparkled. In the rear were warriors of the Eastern provinces in untold numbers, such as Nikki, Takauji's steward, and Oyama, who were bringing up the ranks with none left behind.⁶⁷

Going ahead of the Shogun's horse was his page, Myô-tsuru-maru, outfitted beyond compare, and riding on a black horse said to be the greatest in the Eastern Provinces. He was truly a sight to behold. Even the trefoil-knot hairstyle on someone older did not look at all bad, as he was perfectly dressed for the occasion, and stood out from the others.⁶⁸ There were ten horses in full decoration, every single one splendid beyond belief. Indeed it was reported that all of the famous horses of the Eastern provinces, with none left out, had come. They included a great many of those large horses that are called Satake-dapple.⁶⁹

Soon thereafter, the Shogun presented himself directly to the imperial court. He stopped his accompanying ranks outside of the palace, and went in alone. He entered the courtyard, and stood before the center gate, and stated his purpose to Toshifuyu, the Head Consultant.⁷⁰ Saionji, Commander of the Gate Guards of the Left, came out to meet him,

⁶⁶ A lantern ritual called *Gotô* (御灯), in which the Emperor presented lanterns as an offering of light to the North Star, was held on the third day of the third and ninth months of the lunar year.

⁶⁷ Nikki Yoriaki 仁木頼章 (1299-1359).

⁶⁸ Myô-tsuru-maru (命鶴丸) is the moniker of Aeba Ujinao (饗庭氏直 b. 1335), Takauji's page. The trefoil knot (*agemaki*), a hairstyle that is gathered in the back and then fastened into chignons above each ear, is usually worn by children or young adults. A famous example is Ôigimi in the "Agemaki" of the *Genji*. The hairstyle probably looks rather innocent on Myô-tsuru-maru, 19 years old at the time, and in a position of some responsibility.

⁶⁹ Satake-buchi, probably a dapple-grey. Note that Satake is also the family name of one of the generals accompanying Takauji.

⁷⁰ Bôjô Toshifuyu (坊城俊冬 1319-1367), 35 years old at this time. The keeper of the imperial archives, perhaps also combined with the management of provincial government offices, he would have been in charge of any secret correspondence with the Emperor.

and to show him the way.⁷¹ Leaving his bow and arrows outside, Takauji went before the Emperor, and then came back out shortly.

The shogun's lodgings were to be at the residence of a merchant in Tarui.⁷² This place had at first been the intended location for the imperial palace, and thus there were some fears of taboo about using it, but in deference to imperial command the Shogun did end up staying there. It was said that subsequent to the Emperor's stay at Tarui, the sounds of festivity could still be heard even after he had left the palace, and the Shogun was deeply awed. It was truly extraordinary. Surely, it is because of his meticulous righteousness and humanity that his fortune has so endured, I thought, more and more reassured.⁷³

The same must surely have been the case when the Kamakura Commander of the Right [Minamoto Yoritomo] came to the capital for the first time back in the Kenkyû era.⁷⁴ But because it happened in the capital, His Majesty [Go-Toba] was present, holding court, and Lord Yoritomo attended him, seated on a round mat in one of the further galleries close to the veranda, so it says in a diary.⁷⁵ There was no question of

⁷¹ Saionji Sanetoshi (西園寺実俊 1335-1389), Chief imperial Commander of the Gate Guards of the Left and 19 years old at this time. See *Records of the Takemuki Palace (Takemuki ga ki)*, by Sanetoshi's mother, Hino Nago (or Hino Meishi 日野名子 1310-1358).

⁷² "...a leading merchant in Tarui" (*Tarui no chôja*): the term *chôja* (長者) means "wealthy person" or "clan leader." I have translated it here as "leading merchant" both to reflect the implications of wealth, social status, and community leadership in the term, and also to match Yoshimoto's genteel use of *chôja* to refer to the proprietress of a brothel. There is a possible reference to this same place in the *Taiheiki*.

⁷³ Takauji's "fortune" suggests his success as ruler for court and warriors alike.

⁷⁴ Here, the Kamakura Commander of the Right is the Shogun Minamoto no Yoritomo (源頼朝 1147-1199). The Kenkyû era is 1190-99, early Kamakura period. In 1196, Yoritomo included a visit to the capital while traveling to attend a procession for making an offering at the temple Todaiji in Nara.

⁷⁵ The Emperor at this time was Go-Toba (後鳥羽 1180-1239, r. 1183-1198). The Emperor would hold court in the "daytime chambers" (*hiru no omashi*) in the western wing of the imperial palace

commanding that kind of protocol here, perhaps, in a temporary palace while on a journey, but neither did it create any problems.

On the 5th of that month, ten horses were presented as tribute to the Emperor. In addition, they also presented prize horses to the high officials, and so the gifts gave the distinct feeling of the Shogun's resourcefulness as a politician. He also asked me to evaluate his poems, which he composed on the road during the previous full moon.⁷⁶ I hesitated, having received no formal license in this. But it was hard to refuse him, and so I proceeded, very cautiously indeed, to lay ink on his paper. In general, the only comfort on this journey has been in poems, Japanese and Chinese, night and day. The locals have a fondness for the poetic form called *renga* [linked poetry], and so I have had requests from several people to mark their poetry. However, it was all too burdensome, and I have sent them back. These days, what is there to think of but making our return to the capital?

On the 9th day of the same month, saying that we should hold a celebration for the Chrysanthemum Festival, His Majesty gave everyone some poem cards.⁷⁷ The scholars, from the Minister of the Right and below, presented rhyming Chinese poems to the Emperor.⁷⁸ First the Chinese compositions were read out loud, and then the Japanese

(Seiryôden), and those courtiers with permission to enter would sit in the outer chamber to give reports on government affairs. Because the outer chamber is twice removed from the daytime chamber, we can assume that these exchanges were conducted either in writing or through a messenger.

⁷⁶ This would have been on the night of the full harvest moon of the eighth month

⁷⁷ See "poem cards," above (note 50). During the Chrysanthemum Festival (*chôyô*), the Emperor appears for the courtiers and they compose Chinese poems together while drinking sake from cups in which a chrysanthemum blossom floats.

⁷⁸ "Scholars" (*monjin*), who would have composed in Chinese verse (*kanshi*), are contrasted with "poets" (*kajin*), who would have composed in Japanese verse (*waka*). "Rhyming poems," or *shi'in* (四韻) poems, are 8-line kanshi in which four alternating lines rhyme. The Minister of the Right at this time was Konoe Michitsugu (近衛道嗣 1332-1387), then 22 years old.

waka on poem cards. Because I did not appear on this day, I presented a request to the His Majesty to see all the poems on the following day:

miyabito no	The palace men's
<i>kotoba</i> no tama no	jeweled words
ikanaran	I wonder how they are?
kinofu wo yoso ni	Yesterday, I heard from afar
kiku no shiratsuyu	the white dew on the chrysanthemums ⁷⁹

The Emperor thought of a response shortly thereafter. Although such a quick response is typically what one would call a “parrot’s reply,” in this case, the poem was especially touching, and I thought it was quite interesting.⁸⁰

Perhaps it was that day, but suddenly a frightful wind picked up, and I couldn’t see a thing until dusk. It blew about wildly, blowing over many trees on the mountainside, and it goes without saying that the underbrush in every direction was also whipped about. A sudden downpour started to fall, and lightning flashed and thunder roared.⁸¹ I had the feeling that the sky would come crashing down. It was terrifying. The “legs of the rain”⁸² gave out an explosive sound everywhere it fell, as if about to crack

⁷⁹ The underlying meaning here is: “How were the poems yesterday? I heard about them only from elsewhere and would know more.” Yoshimoto plays on the words *kiku* (“chrysanthemum” and “to hear”), and *shira* (“white” and “I don’t know”) as *kakekotoba*.

⁸⁰ The Emperor’s poem in reply, which Yoshimoto did not record in this journal, would mean, essentially, “Even if you read them today, what does it matter? You ignored us yesterday.” With only two minor differences from Yoshimoto’s poem, the Emperor’s reply seems to have “parroted” Yoshimoto, thus soliciting the name “parrot’s reply” (*ômuksaeshi*).

⁸¹ The term “sudden downpour” is literally “elbow-umbrella rain” (*hiji kasa ame*), in which one is unprepared and must use one’s elbow as an umbrella. This is a reference to the “Suma” chapter of the *Genji* (「肱笠雨とか降り来て、いとあわた、しければ、皆蹄り給はんとするに、笠も取りあへず。」).

⁸² The “legs of the rain” (*ame no ashi*): This is a Japanese reading of the Chinese word (雨脚). Its meaning is rain that is falling so heavily that one can see the traces of the raindrops as lines, like white threads, in the air. This line cites the “Suma” chapter of the *Genji* (「あめのあし当る所とほりぬべくはらめき落つ」). The term also appears in the “Akashi” chapter of the *Genji*: “Eventually the wind died down, and the ‘legs of the rain’ lightened” (「やうやう風なほり、雨の脚しめい」).

open everything under it. Everyone, thinking that we must cross through it, became very disorganized, and there was no time even to get our umbrellas. Everyone was all quite flurried, asking, “What kind of thing is this?” There is no way to express our confusion. The whole of the fields and mountains became a torrent of water, and it even made the road to the imperial court impassable. As night settled in, the wind continued to build to an unusual extreme.

The temporary palace was not strong, being simply made of unhewn log beams, and when it became clear that the Emperor must not remain there, a temporary royal progression was made to a place called Min'an-ji.⁸³ The Bishop of Sanbô-in Temple [Kenshun] had been staying there from before, but he cleared the place so that it could be turned into the Emperor's quarters.⁸⁴ It was an extremely hectic affair. My distress at the chaos from this wind was only increasing, and I also felt quite bleak, but I quelled these thoughts and went in to see the Emperor. It was a storm of unprecedented rain and wind. I was telling the Emperor that his belated return to the [Tarui] Palace would be a bad thing, when it turned out that it was also coming from the warriors that we should move quickly and travel the next day. And so, there was an imperial order saying all of this, and everyone hurried to depart. At some point the various officials had been summoned from the Capital for the formal regal progression [back to the Capital]. However, this too was a hurried affair, and we therefore decided to do it in a similar method to the emergency protocol of before. After all sorts of uproar and confusion, the next morning, the Emperor was restored to the temporary palace, which had undergone repairs meanwhile.

⁸³ The temple Min'an-ji (民安寺) also appears in *Fujikawa no ki* (藤川記)

⁸⁴ See Bishop Kenshun, above, p. 4.

We heard that the Kamakura Middle Captain [Yoshiakira] had arrived in Tarui, so the road back to the capital was now opened for us, which was splendid news.⁸⁵ That very evening, the Middle General went before the Emperor. The proceedings were no different from the Shogun's appearance before the Emperor. That evening, the moon was especially clear. It was a sight to behold the decorations on the horses' saddles and other fittings sparkling in the moonlight, and all who saw it commented upon it to one another. The next day, they brought in two horses to present to the Emperor. The Shogun was not feeling well, and so the imperial progress was postponed.

On the 19th of the same ninth month, we set out on our return journey to the capital.⁸⁶ The nobles joined the procession in their usual court dress. There were Matsudono Middle Counselor Tadatsugi,⁸⁷ the Shijô Middle Counselor Takamochi,⁸⁸ Commander of the Left Gate Guards Sanetoshi,⁸⁹ and Lord Nakafusa,⁹⁰ among others. Similarly, Royal Sword-bearer Takamigi⁹¹ attended in court dress and cap. The others dressed in similar attire, and it was interesting to see them as they mingled here and there. The road was crowded with mountain peasants and woodcutters who gathered, gawking, until it seemed that the space of the road was very narrow indeed.⁹² The Provisional

⁸⁵ The Kamakura Middle General is Takauji's son, Ashikaga Yoshiakira (足利義詮 1330-1367). Yoshiakira would become the second Ashikaga shogun after Takauji, and was in power from 1358-1367.

⁸⁶ According to Fukuda, the historic dates of travel were actually that they left Tarui on the 17th day, and arrived in the capital on the 21st of the ninth month (Fukuda, p. 379n30).

⁸⁷ Matsudono Tadatsugi (松殿忠嗣 1296-?), 57 years old at the time.

⁸⁸ Shijô Takamochi (四条隆持, 1317-?), 36 years old at the time.

⁸⁹ See Saionji Sanetoshi above, note 71

⁹⁰ See Madenokôji Nakafusa above, note 42

⁹¹ Fujiwara Takamigi (藤原隆右, dates unknown), probably about 30 years old at the time. Hashimoto Sanekiyo is also a Royal Sword-bearer (see above, note 63).

⁹² Woodcutters are mentioned in the "Yûgao" chapter of the *Genji*, as people who live in the mountains, yet are unable to appreciate the beauty that surrounds their very homes.

Major Counselor,⁹³ Counselor Middle General Imadegawa,⁹⁴ and others were still in full military dress, and they were not accompanying the imperial party, but rode ahead to each of the royal lodgings in turn, and met us there. I was traveling together with the Nijô Middle Counselor, and that evening we came to a place called Daikakuji in Ômi, and there we went in to meet with the Emperor.

A heavy rain started to fall in the night, and by the morning of the next day, it showed even fewer signs of letting up. I wondered how the Emperor would set out in this weather, but the Kamakura General [Yoshiakira] had already gone out ahead, and so we, too, set out. That day, everyone joined the procession in military dress. In the evening, the royal party entered and stayed at a temple called Binmanji.

The next day, the sky was completely clear, and everyone attended the procession in court dress. We stopped at Musa-dera temple.⁹⁵ From there, we went on and finally arrived at Ishiyama temple. The Emperor's quarters had been set up in the forward part of the main hall. From here we could see the "Saltless Sea," and it was stunning.⁹⁶ Kannon's expedient means for all living things, too, has been a ray of light that has followed us on

⁹³ Perhaps this is Tôin Sanenatsu (洞院実夏 1315-1367), then the Provisional Major Counselor of the Junior Second-Rank (従二位権大納言), who joined the imperial progression at Ishiyama-dera Temple on the 20th day of the ninth month.

⁹⁴ Imadegawa Kin'fuyu (今出川公冬 1329-1380), the Counselor of the Left, Middle General, aged 24 at the time.

⁹⁵ This temple is mentioned in *Tôkan kikô*. Musa-dera is the common name for Chôkô-ji (長光寺), a temple in present-day Shiga prefecture.

⁹⁶ The "Saltless Sea" is Lake Biwa, called such in a poem of the "Sekiya" chapter of *Genji*. Genji, making a pilgrimage to Ishiyama, comes across the party of Utsusemi, a former lover. Genji sends a poem to Utsusemi: "I had hoped that our paths might meet along the road, but, just as there are no shells or mirume [seaweed] in the saltless sea of Lake Biwa, so too my hopes of seeing you are in vain." (わくらばに行きあふ道をたのみしもなほかひなしやしほならぬ海 SNKBT 20, 源氏物語二, p. 161). Royall Tyler translates the waka: "I had little doubt that we would meet after all on the Ômi road, / yet those waters were too fresh not to betray my fond hope" (Tyler, p. 316).

this journey, for which I am grateful. On this day, the Tōin Middle Councillor came from the capital to meet our party, and he too joined the people in procession. The officers of the imperial Bodyguards, too—lords Masatomo, Sanetoki, Takasato, and Takaie—came to meet us in court dress, and attended to the left and right of the Emperor’s palanquin.⁹⁷ The second-ranking officers, in full armor, surrounded the rear of the palanquin. Lord Yoshiakira, in partial armor, led the advance guard, while lord Takauji, also in partial armor, brought up the rear. There were as many as twenty to thirty thousand mounted warriors in the army, and I heard that their procession continued for about two days.

Soon thereafter, the Emperor was restored to his original imperial palace. The General [Yoshiakira] had spread out a leather rug in the midst of the military camp, and waited for the imperial party. The ceremony of return from an imperial progress did not waver from precedent. However, in addition, the armored warriors proceeded until just beyond the outer gates. The Emperor’s palanquin [*mikoshi*] continued to the southern Palace Hall.⁹⁸ Only those in court dress went as far as the inner courtyard. Lord Masatomo served as a swordsman. The imperial palace looked just as it always had, and the principal and assistant handmaids were still in service there. It was strange to see their unchanged mien, but such is the way of the world. Now those gloomy dreams we had while sleeping on the road have disappeared, and our situation is inexpressibly glorious. The people in the Capital reveled at the miraculous event of our return. Thanks to the will of the gods, the future too seems likely to conform to our hopes.

⁹⁷ Fujiwara Masatomo, Fujiwara Sanetoki, Fujiwara Takasato, and Fujiwara Takaie.

⁹⁸ This is an informal name for the Shishin-den (紫宸殿), the southernmost hall of the central complex of buildings on the grounds of the imperial palace. In short, it is one of the most important, and therefore most highly restricted, buildings on site.

Well, there was a message from the Emperor, asking, “How was the journey of the ninth month?” And this was my response to him: There was in the third year of Reiki [717], during the reign of Empress Genshō, an imperial progress into this province of Mino, and upon looking at what is now known as Yôrô Falls, just based upon the auspiciousness of these falls, they went so far as to change the era name, making the third year of Reiki into the first year of Yôrô before making their return. I reported about this great auspicious precedent for our journey of the ninth month as researched by Tadatō no Sukune. This historic precedent, which is so fitting for the series of events on this occasion, and being such an extremely auspicious precedent, won everyone’s admiration. Thinking that events in the world such as these, with so few precedents, would become the matter of tales for posterity, I have written them down, just as they happened, in those spare moments while spending the nights on the road. Determined not to forget them, I have jotted them down on scrap paper torn from the margins of tissue paper and such, and in far from presentable form. It is common to be unable to forget things that have passed. So why should not these meager leaves of words from my brush turn into the seeds for grasses of remembrance?

Appendix D

A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi

Sumiyoshi môde: A Travel Journal by Ashikaga Yoshiakira

Introduction

The travel diary, *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* (*Sumiyoshi no môde* 住吉詣) is a short travel journal, with only fifteen poems, and relatively short prose passages (*kotobagaki*) throughout. It has traditionally been attributed to the second Ashikaga Shogun, Yoshiakira (足利義詮 1330-1367, r. 1358-1367).⁹⁹ The diary is a record of Yoshiakira's pilgrimage to the Sumiyoshi Shrine in the early summer of 1364. Although Yoshiakira undertakes his journey to petition the gods of Sumiyoshi for their protection and favor, there is no discussion of hardship in travel or in life, which gives the diary a freshness and simplicity that is often not seen in other travel journals that are more steeped in the Buddhist philosophical tradition. Otherwise, the diary closely resembles the *kikôbun* genre in its observance of seasonal poetic imagery, linking famous place

⁹⁹ Although there have been questions about the legitimacy of this. Kaji Hiroe has argued that the attribution is probable, especially considering the lack of another more likely author. The diary has also been treated for centuries afterward as Yoshiakira's. For example, Yoshiakira's name and seal are assigned to the text of *A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* in a 1923 edition of *Gunsho ruijû* (群書類従), indicating the traditional attribution (Hanawa and Ôta, eds., p. 555). I will treat it as such in the present study.

names to past travelers, and citing canonical poems that had been composed on the various landscapes.

A Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi

Around the beginning of the fourth month of the third year of the Jôji era [1364],¹⁰⁰ intending to go and see Naniwa Bay in Settsu Province, I set out on a pilgrimage there, and I boarded a ship on the Yodo.¹⁰¹ While I gazed across the surface of the river to the mountains beyond, because it was at that time the beginning of the fourth month, we saw what remained of the scattering kerria roses on the riverbank.¹⁰² I couldn't help but yearn after the passing traces of spring. White as snow on the hedges, the deutzia flowers bloomed, a cuckoo singing among them.¹⁰³ Searching across the distance among the thick and verdant summer mountains, I found the Yamabato Peak of Hachiman Shrine, and prayed to it from afar.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ The Jôji era (1362-68) was a designation of the Northern Court, under the rule of Emperor Go-Kôgon (御光厳天皇 1338-1374, r. 1352-1371; see Chapter 2 of this dissertation). The transition from spring to summer occurs at the beginning of the fourth month of the lunar year.

¹⁰¹ The Naniwa Bay is present day Osaka Bay. The Yodo River (*Yodogawa* 淀川) was an important travel route from Yamato Province to the provinces of Ômi, Yamashiro, and Hokuriku during the medieval period and earlier. The Uji, Kizu, and Katsura Rivers (宇治川・木津川・桂川) flow into the Yodo. Probably because of its breadth and depth, the Yodo is named so for having the appearance of standing water (*yodomu* 淀む).

¹⁰² The kerria rose (*yamabuki* 山吹) is a delicate, yellow wild rose native to Japan. It is a seasonal poetic word for spring. The yamabuki grows in the foothills and low mountains, and usually near water. It is a low shrub with thin leaves and five-petaled blossoms that scatter easily in the wind. It comes into blossom around the same time as the wisteria (*fuji* 藤), from late spring to early summer.

¹⁰³ The small white deutzia flower (*unohana* 卯の花), is also a poetic image of spring, and the cuckoo (*hototogisu* 時鳥) a symbol of early summer.

¹⁰⁴ Yamabato Peak of Hachiman (*Hachiman yamabato no mine* 八幡山鳩の峰), an alternate name for Mount Otoko (Otoko yama 男山), on the border between present day Kyoto and Osaka prefectures, and on the Yodo River. On the peak of this mountain is Iwashimizu Hachiman-gû (石清水八幡宮), a shrine that is dedicated to the deity, Hachiman. The name Hachiman (八幡) is

Iwashimizu	Scooping up the water
taenu nagare wo	flowing ceaselessly at Iwashimizu
kumite shiru	I drink it and know your mercy
fukaki megumi zo	from one generation to the next
yoyo ni kawaranu	will never change ¹⁰⁵

I went to view Yamasaki, Takara-dera temple, and Tabe Village, and other such places.¹⁰⁶ We stopped the boat for a while at a place called Eguchi Village, and the day came to a close as we were walking and looking all around the area.¹⁰⁷ Memory brought to mind that Monk Saigyô had long ago made his lodgings in this place, and I composed the poem:

oshimishi mo	Those who cherish it
oshimanu hito mo	and those indifferent to it
todomaranu	surely would sleep one night
kari no yadori to	in the temporary abode
hitoya nemashi wo	where no one remains forever ¹⁰⁸

also pronounced Yahata (八幡). In this passage, the peak is named after a mountain dove (*yamabato* 山鳩 or pigeon), but this does not appear to be a common usage. Perhaps Yoshiakira does so here because the mountain dove is a seasonal poetic word of summer.

¹⁰⁵ This is a reference to the Yahata Shrine, or Iwashimizu Hachimangû. The phrase “scoop up to drink and know” (*kumite shiru*) is used frequently with the place name Iwashimizu. There are no examples of the phrase in poems of the first and most famous poetic anthology, the *Kokinshû* (古今集 905). But several examples appear in the anthologies of the late Heian and Kamakura periods, including the *Goshûishû* (後拾遺集 1087, see poems nos. 615 and 1174), the *Shikashû* (詞花集 1151, see poem no. 377), the *Zoku shûishû* (続拾遺集 1279, see poems nos. 1359 and 1419), and the *Gyokuyôshû* (玉葉集 1312, see poem no. 2781).

¹⁰⁶ Takara-dera Temple (宝寺) is another name for Hôshaku-ji (宝積寺) a Shingon temple on Mount Tennô (*Tennôzan* 天王山). Mount Tennô and Mount Otoko (*Otakoyama* 男山, here called Yamabato Peak, see note 7 of this text) face each other across the Yodo River. Takara-dera Temple is located in the present-day Otokuni District of Kyoto, in the town of Oyamazaki. Yamasaki (山崎) is very close to Takara-dera. Tabe Village (田邊の里) is unknown, but was likely somewhere between Eguchi Village the area around Yamasaki and Takara-dera.

¹⁰⁷ Eguchi Village (江口の里) is located at the point where the Kanzaki River branches off from the Yodo River. It was famous as an inland port town, complete with roadhouses and brothels, for boat traffic between Lake Biwa and what is now the Osaka Bay. It was a common stopping point for travelers from the mid-Heian period on, who were making pilgrimages to Kumano (熊野), Mount Kôya (高野山), Shitennô-ji (四天王寺), and Sumiyoshi Shrine.

¹⁰⁸ There is a legend about Monk Saigyô (西行法師 1118-1190) exchanging a poem with one of the women at a brothel (a “playgirl” *yûjo* 遊女) at Eguchi. Because of this, Eguchi became

As night was lightening into dawn, we reached a place called Nagara.¹⁰⁹ Long ago, in this place, there was a bridge, and it was busy with the comings and goings of various people. Now, what are called the traces of the bridge are but a few aging

famously associated with roadhouses, and particularly playgirls, because of its convenience as a stopping point for travelers moving between the Central Provinces (Kinai 畿内) and three of the major Routes (the San'yôdô 山陽道, the Saikaidô 西海道, and the Nankaidô 南海道). The exchange between Saigyô and the playgirl is included in the *Shin kokinshû* (新古今集 1205) Travel, nos. 978-979:

During a pilgrimage to Tennô-ji, when, because of a sudden rain, he borrowed a lodging at Eguchi, he had the following exchange of poems:

yo no naka wo	It is surely difficult
itofu made koso	to go so far as to turn away
katakaramé	from this world,
kari no yadori wo mo	but here is one who cherishes
oshimu kimi kana	even her temporary abode

yo wo itofu hito	Knowing that you are one
to shi kike bakari	who has turned away from this world
no yado ni	I simply thought
<i>kokoro</i> tomu nado	your heart must not linger
omou bakari zo	in a temporary abode

The story also appears in several other collections of poetry and tales, including two collections of Saigyô's poetry, the *Sankashû* (山家集 late Heian) and the *Senjûshô* (also, *Saigyô senjûshô* 西行選集抄 ca. 1250), and it has been developed into Nô theater (*yôkyoku* 謡曲) and *nagauta* (長唄) in later periods. See appendix below for another version of the story, as quoted in Faure.

¹⁰⁹ Nagara Bridge (*Nagara no hashi* 長柄橋) is famous as a poetic place name (*utamakura*), and is the subject of many *waka* (for example, *Kokinshû* nos. 826, 1003, and 1051), including *Kokinshû* no. 890, by Lady Ise:

Naniwa naru	The Nagara Bridge
Nagara no hashi mo	in Naniwa
tsukurunari	will be rebuilt—
ima ha waga mi wo	now, to what shall I compare
nani ni tatoen	this body of mine?

Based on a translation by Kamens (*Utamakura*, p. 120). It is also mentioned in the Japanese preface (*kanajo* 仮名序) to the *Kokinshû*: “People who hear the poem, ‘The Nagara Bridge is falling apart, and will be rebuilt...’ will find solace only in the poem” (「ながらのはしもつくるなりときく人はうたにのみぞ心をなぐさめける」). The Nagara Bridge is also the example of bridges in Sei Shonagon's *Pillow Book* (「橋は、長柄の橋」枕草紙 ca. 1004), and stories that deal with it appear in such collections as the *Fukuro zôshi* (袋草子 mid 12th c.) and the *Kokon chomonjû* (古今著聞集 mid 13th c.).

fragments from long ago. Truly, it must be so, that the vestiges of the past have a way of drawing people to themselves.

kuchihateshi	Utterly ruined
Nagara no hashi no	the Nagara Bridge
nagarahete	has yet survived
kefu ni ainuru	just as this body that has aged
mi zo furinikeru	to encounter it today ¹¹⁰

Eventually we reached Naniwa Bay. More than hearing of it, looking at it was superb. At Ashiya Village¹¹¹ and Mitsu Bay,¹¹² the sight of the ducks and gulls romping and playing in the water, on the approaching waves, was highly entertaining.

Naniwagata	At Naniwa Bay
ashima no kobune	the small boat among the reeds
itoma nami	between the rising waves

¹¹⁰ This poem in particular appears to take as a reference Lady Ise's poem (KKS 890, see note 11 above) and a poem included in the collection, *Godaishû utamakura* (*Poetic place names of the first five imperial Poetic Anthologies* 五代集歌枕 early Heian), no. 11526 (poet unknown):

au koto wo	Our lovers' meetings
Nagara no hashi no	have survived
nagaraete	just as the Nagara Bridge
koiwataru ma ni	that stretches across the years
toshi zo henikeru	over the gap for our love to traverse

There is also a possible reference to another place name in Settsu Province, Ashima (葦間 known for Ashiya Pond and Mount Ashima), or possibly from Ashiya Village (芦屋 or 葦屋), which is also nearby (see note 13, below) in the *Shûishû* (拾遺集 1005-07) no. 468 (poet unknown):

Ashima yori	From Ashima
miyuru Nagara no	looking through the reeds,
hashi hashira	the pillars of Nagara Bridge
mukashi no ato no	are a guide to
shirube narikeri	the traces of the past

¹¹¹ Ashiya Village (*Ashiya no Sato* 蘆屋の里) is in Settsu Province, and occupied an area of land slightly larger than the present day city of Ashiya (芦屋市). It is not an utamakura, but it appears in the *Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 Heian period), no. 87, and the poems are included in the *Shin kokinshû* (新古今集 1205) Misc. II nos. 1590-91.

¹¹² Mitsu Bay (*Mitsu no ura* 御津の浦) is a famous poetic place name of Settsu Province. The place name "Mitsu" is also frequently used as a pivot word (*kakekotoba*) for the phrase, "I saw" or "to have seen" (*mitsu* 見つ) in poetic composition.

sao no shizuku ni	their sleeves have decayed
sode zo kuchinuru	from the dripping oars ¹¹³

From Mitsu Bay, we went in the boat to look around here and there.

kikishi yori	More than hearing of it
miru ha masareri	looking at it was superb—
kefu yashiro ha	the shrine that I saw
hajimete mitsu no	for the first time today with
ura no yûnami	the evening waves at Mitsu Bay

We went up to look at Tamino Island.¹¹⁴ There were many fisher boats that had drawn towards the shore and floated there.¹¹⁵ I saw their fishing net, the rope drenched and hanging in the branches of the trees.

ame furedo	Whether it rains or not,
furanedo kahaku	there is no time for it to dry—
hima zo naki	the damp clothes
Tamino no shima no	of the fisherfolk
ama no nureginu	at Tamino Island

From there we headed south, and there was a place called the Tamakawa River of Noda.¹¹⁶ Along the bank, the wisteria blossoms were dripping in full bloom.

murasaki no	Should we call them clouds
kumo to ya iwamu	of purple?

¹¹³ Naniwa-gata is another name for Naniwa Bay. The poem can also be read, “Because there is no pause from fork for the small boats playing among the reeds, their sleeves have decayed from the dripping oars.” This is a likely reference to a poem that is included in both the *Hyakunin isshu* (百人一首) and the *Shin kokinshû* (Love I, no. 1049, Lady Ise):

Naniwagata	We cannot meet
mijikaki ashi no	for a moment even as brief
fushi no ma mo	as the spaces between the reeds
awade kono yo wo	growing thickly at Naniwagata
sugushiteyo to ya	Is that how quickly our lives must pass?

¹¹⁴ Tamino Island (*Tamino no shima* 田蓑嶋) is in what is now the Osaka Bay. It appears in the “Channel Bouys” (*Miotsukushi* 湫標) chapter of the *Tale of Genji*, and it is one of the “Seven Waterways of Naniwa” (難波七瀬). It was also used as a place to send exiles.

¹¹⁵ They were probably resting, since their nets were hanging on the trees. See KKS no. 407, especially the *kotobagaki*.

¹¹⁶ Literally, the Jewel River of the Fields, Noda no tamakawa (野田の玉川)

fuji no hana	The flowering wisteria vines
no ni mo yama ni mo	crawling and clinging
hahi zo kakareru	over hills and mountains alike

From there, meaning to make our pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi, we approached Tennô-ji temple and looked. Shôtoku Taishi rules over the Four Heavenly Kings,¹¹⁷ and there is a statue of him there. I gazed at the stone *torii* gate and the water in the Turtle Well, my heart at peace.

yorozuyo wo	Tying an affinity
kamei no mizu ni	with the myriad ages
musubi okite	of the Turtle Well water,
yukusue nagaku	I pray that the road to my end
ware mo tanomamu	stretches long into the future ¹¹⁸

From there, I went on to present myself before the god of Sumiyoshi, and I made obeisance to the deities of the four shrines of Sumiyoshi.¹¹⁹

yomo no umi	Deep as the ocean
fukaki chikai ya	in the four directions is their vow!
hi no moto no	That the people of the sun source
tami mo yutaka ni	may live in prosperity through
Sumiyoshi no kami	the grace of the gods of Sumiyoshi ¹²⁰

It has been passed down since times long ago that this august deity is a great protector of those who are deeply devoted to the Way of Poetry.¹²¹ In particular, if a person who aspires to excellent poetry makes a pilgrimage to this deity and recites his vow, he will surely find success in that Way, so it is said.

kamiyo yori	From the age of the gods
tsutaetsutauru	passed down and down again

¹¹⁷ The Four Heavenly Kings (*Shiten-nô* 四天王) are the protective deities of the four directions.

¹¹⁸ Perhaps he wrote down a prayer and tied it to the edge of the well as a ritual gesture here.

¹¹⁹ The *kami* that are avatars of a Buddha or bodhisattva, and associated with each of the four shrines of Sumiyoshi (四社明神)

¹²⁰ The phrase “the people of the sun’s origin” means “the people of Japan” (日のもとの民)

¹²¹ The Way of Poetry, *uta no michi* (歌道)

Shikishima no	how distant and remote
michi ni kokoro mo	is the heart of
utoku mo ari kana	the Way of the Myriad Islands!

We went down to the coast, and walked up to stand in the shade of the pine tress. Looking at the scene, I remembered the composition of Middle Captain Ariwara.¹²² And so it seemed that, truly, the geese were crying, and the chrysanthemums were in full bloom.

Sumiyoshi no	Like the white waves
kishi ni yoru tefu	drawn to the shores
shiranami no	of Sumiyoshi,
shirazu mukashi wo	shall I ask the pines about
matsu ni tofuran	a past beyond knowing?

I looked far out over the expanse of the ocean, and to the west were Awaji Island, Suma, Akashi bay, and other such places. If only I could take the boat to go over and look, but of course, taking into account people's fears as a result of the conflicts in this world, I did not. Instead, we spent one night and returned to the Capital at dawn.

Awaji kata	Toward Awaji
kasumi wo wakete	parting the mists
yukufune no	the sailing ship
tayori mo shiranu	its ultimate destination unknown
nami no uhe kana	going over the waves

I looked at Suma Bay, and I saw the rising plumes of smoke from the salt fires.

tachinoboru	As the smoke
moshiho no keburu	rising from the salt fires,
itazura ni	vainly,
taga omohi yori	whose yearning is it
kuyurunaruramu	that smolders so?

I looked at Akashi Bay.

yomiokishi	I composed a poem
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¹²² This is the famous Heian poet of the *Tales of Ise*, Ariwara no Narihira (在原業平).

koto no ha bakari	with the leaves of words alone
ariake no	bright in the morning sky
tsuki mo Akashi no	the moon over Akashi Bay
ura no masago ji	and its stretch of sandy beach ¹²³

And then I went once more before the god of Sumiyoshi. After saying words of farewell, I departed from its presence.

Mitsu kaki no	The fence at Mitsu that I saw
iku chiyo made mo	how many thousands of years
yukusue wo	will you protect us
mamorasetamahe	see us through to our destination
Sumiyoshi no kami	god of Sumiyoshi

In this single scroll, I yielded to my brush and recorded the appearance of these various places, thinking that perhaps it will be of interest in another time.

Early in the Fourth Month

Yoshiakira [seal]

¹²³ Yoshiakira might be alluding to a poem from the *Tale of Genji* here. The first half seems to say: “The leaves of words that I composed alone remain beneath the lingering light of the moon over Akashi Bay and its stretch of sandy beach.” There is a *kakekotoba* on the verb *ari* (*koto no ha bakari ari*) and the remaining light of the moon (*ariake*). It shouldn’t be “bright,” except that the name Akashi suggests that. If we take the words to be the words of the *Genji*, then it could be saying that only the tale remains, and the people who wrote and read it are gone.

Appendix E

The Ritual Function of *Kunimi Uta* by a Poetntial Ruler

An Example from the *Man'yôshû*

The narrative of the succession of Emperor Ôjin (late 3rd -early 4th c.) in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* reflects this function of *kunimi*. Ôjin, then Prince Homuda, was involved in a power struggle in the 4th or 5th century with his half-brother, Prince Oshikuma who attempted an unsuccessful rebellion against Prince Homuda and Homuda's mother, Empress Jingû (3rd c.). After celebrating his victory with Empress Jingû and his supporters, Prince Homuda becomes Emperor Ôjin, and then goes on to take a wife and several consorts.

The narrative of Emperor Ôjin's succession to rule, told through *Kojiki* poems 38-46, uses the trope of *kunimi* to mark the transition from child to adult, from threatened prince to firmly established emperor. *Kojiki* no. 38 tells of the failure of the rebellion through the eyes of Prince Oshikuma and his general, Isahi no Sukine, as they vow to plunge themselves into Lake Biwa (the "Sea of Ômi").¹²⁴ In no. 39, Prince Homuda

¹²⁴ *Kojiki* no. 38:

Thereupon this Prince Oshikuma, together with [his general] Isahi no Sukune, being pursued and hard-pressed, got into a boat and launced forth on the sea, singing:

undergoes purification after the conflict, and Empress Jingû offers him sake to drink in celebration of their victory. In no. 40, the *kotobagaki* explains that Takeshi Uchi no Sukune, a statesman and elder, accepts the sake in reply to Jingû on behalf of the Prince, who is still a child. But in the next poem, *Kojiki* no. 41, it is not Prince Homuda, but Emperor Ôjin who composes a *kunimi* poem as he travels to Chikatsu Ômi:

Once when the Emperor crossed over to the province of Chikatsu Ômi,
he stood on Uji Fields and looked off toward Kazuno. He sang:

Chiba no	Leafy Kazuno,
Kazuno o mireba	Vinefields of the thousand leaves:
momochidaru	Looking, I can see
yaniwa mo miyu	Hundreds, thousands of houses—
kuni no ho mo miyu	And I can see the summits of the land.

Emperor Ôjin
(trans. Cranston I: 27)

It is uncertain how much time has passed between his victory celebrations with Empress Jingû as Prince Homuda, and his journey to Chikatsu as Emperor Ôjin. Nonetheless, this is the poem in which the audience learns of this transition, and as a *kunimi* poem, it simultaneously initiates, justifies, and proves his new position of power. In the poem, Ôjin stands at a specified point and looks far into the distance (“and I can see the summits of the land”). Although it is not the usual mountain or hill of the *kunimi* poem, the

iza agi	Come, my friend,
furukuma ga	Instead of bearing
itate owazu wa	Sore wounds at Furukuma’s hand,
niodori no	Like grebes
Ômi no umi ni	Let us plunge in the waters
kazuki sena wa	Of the Sea of Ômi!

Prince Oshikuma
(trans. Cranston I: 26)

The *Nihon shoki* also includes poems that describe this moment from the point of view of a statesman sympathetic to Empress Jingû, Takeshi Uchi no Sukune, as well as his efforts to find the bodies after the fact. See *Nihon shoki*, poems 30-31 (trans. Cranston I: 77-78).

expanse of a plain suggests a broad view of the land, and establishes the resulting vista as a political entity, a realm, by making claim to all that is visible to him. There is even the suggestion that the poem extends this claim beyond what is humanly visible to the indefinite beyond. He also praises the beauty and fertility of the land (“Leafy Kazuno, / Vinefields of the thousand leaves”), and the prosperity of its people (“hundreds, thousands of houses”), who the audience understands are now his subjects.

Following this, there is another poem attributed to Emperor Ôjin that narrates yet another important stage in his life. This one is introduced as having been composed on a visit to Chikatsu Ômi, when he met Yagawaehime, who would become one of his consorts. This is described in the final lines of the *chôka*, excerpted here in *Kojiki* no. 42:

...	...
Awashishi omina	Ah, the woman that I met!
ka moga to	To have her thus,
waga mishi kora	The girl I saw—
kaku moga to	To have her so,
wa ga mishi ko ni	The girl I saw—whom now
utatake dani	In mounting pleasure
mukaioru kamo	I sit facing, with whom now
isoioru kamo	I company side by side!

Emperor Ôjin
(trans. Cranston I: 28-29)

This poem is an indirect example of how the trope of looking also acts as a mode of marriage, or literally “taking a wife.” This is not directly mentioned in the poem above, but, read together with *Kojiki* 42, a wedding-banquet song for the nuptials of Emperor Ôjin and his consort, Yagawaehime. Just as in the transition from prince to emperor, the poems above form a narrative when read in succession, in which the *kunimi* poem becomes the hinge in a logical transition to the young ruler’s marriage.

According to the *Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns*, the historical narrative by Kitabatake Chikafusa, Emperor Ôjin was in fact an avatar of the god Hachiman:

Ôjin first revealed himself as a *kami* during the reign of Emperor Kimmei. Appearing at Hishikata Pond in Higo Province, Kusu, he said: “I am Homuda-no-Yahatamaru of the sixteenth reign of human sovereigns.” Homuda was Ôjin’s original name and Yahata was his cognomen as an avatar. Ôjin was later installed as the god Hachiman at the Usa Shrine in Buzen Province. After Emperor Shômu built the Tôdaiji, he issued an oracle proclaiming his wish to make a pilgrimage to the new temple. The emperor made solemn preparations to greet the god. And, in response to another oracle, Hachiman was initiated into Buddhism. Before long Yahata (Hachiman) was welcomed for worship at Tôdaiji. Nevertheless, imperial envoys continued to be sent to Usa; in the time of Emperor Seiwa [late 9th c.] a priest of the Daianji named Gyôkyô went to Usa and, at the instruction [*reikô*] of the god, had him transferred to the present Iwashimizu Shrine at Otokoyama. Since then imperial visits and offerings [*hôtei*] have been made to Hachiman at Iwashimizu. In addition, imperial envoys are sent to Usa once during each reign. (Varley 105-106)¹²⁵

Emperor Shômu 聖武天皇 (701-756, r. 724-49) was one of the first rulers to adopt the view of Japan as a political entity functioning under the protection of Buddhist deities. This is reflected in his order of the construction of Tôdaiji as the center of a network of “national” temples for monks and nuns alike (*kokubun-ji* 国分寺 and *kokubun-niji* 国分尼寺).¹²⁶ However, the notion of Japan as a “divine land” (*shinkoku* 神国) is a long

¹²⁵ Emperor Kimmei 欽明天皇 (510-571, r. 540-571) is descended from Emperor Nintoku, the eldest son of Ôjin. Nintoku was celebrated for his great virtue, and Chikafusa reads Kimmei’s accession to the throne despite difficult circumstances as a reflection of the “residual or enduring virtue” stemming from Nintoku. Chikafusa wrote, “Although Kimmei had two older brothers, his line nevertheless inherited the imperial succession. Very likely the succession was decided in this way because Kimmei was descended on his mother’s side from Nintoku, whose great virtue still exerted its influence” (Varley 18). Emperor Seiwa 清和天皇 (850-880, r. 858-876) is famous for going through the rites of lay initiation, or *kechien-kanjô* (Varley 243).

¹²⁶ Varley names this attitude *chingo kokka* (鎮護国家), or “protection of the country by Buddhist deities” (Varley, p. 8), but it is unclear whether this is his application of the

standing one, and the *Nihon shoki* writes that the King of Silla calls it such during the time of Empress Jingû.¹²⁷

Herman Ooms points out that Hachiman was an active entity in that the deity had a voice, and made his wishes well known. This is in contrast to other *kami*, in particular Amaterasu (206). The decision to enshrine Hachiman next to Tōdaiji in Nara, initiated by the Usa Hachiman shrine officiants, was announced as the words of the *kami* himself. At the Usa Hachiman shrine in Kyushu, Ooms writes, “Hachiman’s ritualists, who had already developed Hachiman into a syncretistic *kami*, must have perceived the emergence of Buddhism at the center as a serious historical force and had wanted to be in on the action” (205).

Hachiman is said in some cases to be housed at Sumiyoshi Shrine as well as Iwashimizu, and we recall that there is one poem dedicated *Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi* when Yoshiakira passes Mount Yamabato. The relationship between Sumiyoshi Shrine and Ōjin is further strengthened by the circumstances of his mother’s pregnancy and childbirth.

When Chūai failed to act in accordance with the instructions of the *kami* and died at an early age, Jingû became much distressed. After the passage of seven days, she constructed a place of worship [*betsuden*, which Varley interprets here as *saiden*] and entered into seclusion. Already pregnant with the child who was to become Emperor Ōjin, the empress was at this time possessed by a trio of deities identifying themselves as “Uwatsutsunoo, Nakatsutsunoo, and Sokotsutsunoo” and was instructed in various matters. These deities, who were later enshrined at Sumiyoshi in Settsu Province, had been produced by Izanagi when he purified himself at Awagigahara near the Odo River in Hyûga.

term or a reflection of Chikafusa’s language. Famously, *Jinnô shôtôki* opens with the line, “Great Japan is the divine land” (Varley, p. 49).

¹²⁷ The section on Empress Jingû in the *Nihon shoki* writes that the King of Silla says, “I hear there is a divine land in the east, and its name is Japan [Nihon]” (Varley 8).

(Varley 101-102)

The narrative of Empress Jingû is interesting in that her reign is overshadowed by those of Emperor Chûai before her and Emperor Ôjin after her.¹²⁸ As Chûai's consort, Jingû became pregnant with the child that would become Ôjin. Because Chûai died before she even gave birth, she was viewed almost automatically as a regent, in the sense of passing the imperial line forward to the unborn child she carried.¹²⁹ The narrative endows her with a divine legitimacy, however—one that is not afforded to Chûai. Chûai's untimely death is the result of inattention to the *kami*, and Jingû's actions and the resulting favor of the *kami* legitimate her rule where matters of imperial succession did not.

This “divine power” (*shin'i*) is extended to Jingû's legacy as she went on to sail to the Korean peninsula and “subjugate Silla, Paekche, and Koguryô.”¹³⁰ All the while, she was purportedly using a “sacred stone” to delay her childbirth until she returned to Kyushu (Varley 102).

While the empress was still in Kyushu, Ôjin's older brother by a different mother, Oshikuma-no-ô, had rebelled and sought to block the return of her party to the capital region. Placing Ôjin in the care of Ô-omi Takeuchi, who took him to Minato in Kii Province, the empress went directly to Naniwa and soon quelled the rebellion. Ôjin, now and adult,

¹²⁸ Varley notes: “Chikafusa regarded Jingû as the 15th legitimate sovereign, but omitted Kôbun [Prince Ôtomo, whose posthumous name Kôbun was not designated until 1870, see Varley, p. 136n42]. Under the influence of the Mito School of historiography of the Tokugawa period, however, Jingû was officially eliminated from the list of legitimate sovereigns and Kôbun was added” (Varley, Appendix 3 note).

¹²⁹ The text later states explicitly that she rules as regent “Jingû administered the country as regent [*sesshō*] from the year *kanoto-mi* [201] on” (Varley, trans., p. 102).

¹³⁰ This was more likely a conflict against three Han of Silla, but the text reflects the common view held at Chikafusa's time. Varley writes that Silla, Paekche, and Koguryô “were known as the three Han, but in fact the real three Han appear to have been limited to the state of Silla: that is, Chin-han, Ma-han, and Pyôn-han collectively comprised Silla. Nevertheless, it became the custom from early times to speak also of Paekche and Koguryô as constituting, along with Silla, the three Han” (p. 102).

was made crown prince, and Takeuchi was assigned to assist in the general conduct of court affairs. Empress Jingû resided at Wakasakura Palace at Iware in Yamato. (Varley 102)

After Ôjin's birth in this version of the legend, we begin to recognize the narrative of the dispute over the throne, and the circumstances for Ôjin's eventual success as he becomes emperor. We have returned full circle to his *kunimi* poem recorded in the *Kojiki* no. 41:

Once when the Emperor crossed over to the province of Chikatsu Ômi,
he stood on Uji Fields and looked off toward Kazuno. He sang:

Chiba no	Leafy Kazuno,
Kazuno o mireba	Vinefields of the thousand leaves:
momochidaru	Looking, I can see
yaniwa mo miyu	Hundreds, thousands of houses—
kuni no ho mo miyu	And I can see the summits of the land.

Ôjin
(Trans. Cranston 1: 27)

It is worth noting here the important role of the *kotobagaki* passage that introduces the poem. Although the poem explicitly mentions looking at the land as a means of praising its fertility and the health of the population, the act of going to a place and looking is established in the prose introduction.

Appendix F

Selected Biographies of the Travelers to View Fuji¹³¹

Ashikaga Yoshinori

Ashikaga Yoshinori (足利義教 r. 1428-1441) was the sixth Ashikaga shogun.

Yoshinori was the third son of Yoshimitsu (足利義満 r. 1368-1394, third shogun), and grandson of Yoshiakira (足利義詮 r. 1358-1367, second shogun). He was the younger half-brother of Yoshimochi (足利義持 r. 1394-1423, fourth shogun), by the same mother.¹³²

In general, Yoshinori is remembered for his mercurial and often cruel behavior toward those around him. The Noh playwright Zeami, and poets Shôtetsu and Shinkei in particular famously suffered from the shogun's disfavor.¹³³ Gosukô-in (1372-1456) reflected this antagonistic attitude toward Yoshinori when he wrote in his diary that Yoshinori “died like a dog.”¹³⁴ Indeed, as one of the very few political leaders to have

¹³¹ Unless otherwise noted, the sources for these biographies are from *Kokushi daijiten*, *Waka bungaku daijiten*, and *Nihon kokugo daijiten*. See also Inoue Muneo 1984 and 2007 for comprehensive discussions of leading figures in the poetic milieu of the Muromachi period.

¹³² See Table A for a family tree of the first eight Ashikaga shoguns

¹³³ See Table C

¹³⁴ See Go-Sukô-in's diary, *Record of Things Seen and Heard* (*Kanmon gyoki* 看聞御記), which he kept from 1416-1448. Cited in Keene 2003: 15.

been assassinated in Japanese history, Yoshinori is probably best known in English language scholarship for the circumstances of his death.¹³⁵

Yoshinori was killed in the sixth month of 1441, in what would become known as the Kakitsu Disturbance. The occasion for the party was to celebrate the bakufu's success in quelling the disorder that had broken out in the Western provinces. Akamatsu Mitsuhide executed the attack during a *sarugaku* performance at his family mansion. Ôuchi Mochiyo (1394-1441), an heir of a powerful family that held *shugo* status in provinces of western Honshu, was also killed in this assassination.¹³⁶ Yoshinori's wife was Hino Shigeko (d. 1463), and was the aunt of Tomiko and Hino Katsumitsu (whose father was assassinated upon Yoshinori's command). Akamatsu had heard that Yoshinori intended to give his three provinces to someone else, and so it is possible that he acted to prevent this by killing Yoshinori.

The public funeral ceremony took place there on the sixth day of the seventh month of 1441. Yoshinori's son, Yoshikatsu was the only candidate for succeeding Yoshinori, but he was unfit to rule immediately since, at seven years of age, he had not yet had his coming of age ceremony (*genbuku*). The ceremony was carried out in the following year, with a Council of Elders governing in the meantime (an intermittent practice that was not unprecedented), and retaining Hosokawa Mochiyuki as the shogunal deputy.

Akamatsu Mitsusuke had taken Yoshinori's head to Settsu province, and was planning to hold a service at Nakajima. Feeling threatened by the beheading of an

¹³⁵ See Keene 2003 and Carter 1996 in particular.

¹³⁶ Carter 1996: 7-8

Akamatsu retainer sent with a message to Mochiyuki (shogunal deputy), Akamatsu decided to forgo the service, and fled to Harima (in western Honshu) with the head. The *Kakitsu monogatari* is a tale about these events. It is generally assumed that Akamatsu Mitsusuke was acting to protect his lands (three domains, Bizen, Mimasaka, and Harima), which Yoshinori was reportedly planning to transfer to another member of the Akamatsu family. It was Kikei Shinzui (1401-1469) who went to Harima to try to retrieve Yoshinori's head. He was a member of the Akamatsu family, and the chief priest of the Rokuon-in, and so felt responsibility to do so out of obligation to the bakufu and to the temple in which he served.

It took a full two months for the bakufu to send an army after the Akamatsu men in Harima. After initially preparing to defend himself, and then finding no opposition, Mitsusuke turned the assassination into a full-blown revolt when he requested a Zen priest from the Ashikaga family to take the name Yoshitaka, and began to rally his contacts for supports. The reason the punitive army was so late in going to Harima is likely that many were so empathetic to Akamatsu Mitsusuke's actions, and that it was not necessarily a loss for Yoshinori's reign to be over. But for the safety of the current Ashikaga bakufu, particularly because the current shogun was so young and inexperienced, with little influence or authority, Hosokawa Mochiyuki went so far as to request the Emperor's edict, and only with Go-Hanazono's public and official support then was the army sent out. The imperial edict was written on the thirtieth day of the seventh month (24 days after Yoshinori's funeral), and announced on the first day of the eighth month of 1441. Tokifusa wrote the first draft, and it was edited by a Confucian scholar and finally by the Emperor:

The conspiracy of Akamatsu Mitsusuke and his son Noriyasu has disturbed public law and order; they have blocked the imperial rule in Harima and brought on war with those who obey the will of Heaven. For this reason, no time should be lost in dispatching an army to chastise these enemies. Now is the moment for each man to display complete loyalty to the country and filial piety to his family. Do not allow further days to pass without action. As for those who have cooperated with the conspirators, they should definitely be punished for the same crime. This is Our command.¹³⁷

With this official order, addressed to Hosokawa Mochiyuki, Yamana Sôzen set out with an army to attack the Akamatsu family, which was concentrated primarily in Harima (the army was comprised solely of Yamana men, because others arrived too late to join; presumably because they were hesitant to participate in the retaliation for Yoshinori's assassination). Mimasaka fell quickly, but Harima withstood the advances of the bakufu. When an army from Awaji advanced by sea against the Akamatsu stronghold, Harima eventually fell on the thirtieth day of the eighth month, and Sôzen had full control of Sakamoto Castle in Harima by the third day of the ninth month. Mitsusuke escaped with a small group of retainers to the nearby Kinoyama Castle. When it was clear that they would fall to the bakufu army by the morning of the tenth day of the ninth month, Mitsusuke ordered his son Noriyasu and younger brother Norishige to escape while he prepared to commit seppuku. He was followed by about fifty of his retainers in death, including Azumi Yukihide, who had been the one to decapitate Yoshinori, and who served as second to Mitsusuke's seppuku, and ultimately self-immolated after setting fire to the castle.

Yamana Sôzen and his army stayed in Harima no doubt to plunder goods, and likely in hopes of laying claim to the land. Meanwhile, in the capital and the provinces

¹³⁷ Quoted in Imatani 1994, 106; translation by Keene 2003, 28.

surrounding it, the peasant uprisings (*tsuchi ikki*), which were primarily concentrated in Ômi province, broke out in the late eighth and early ninth months of 1441. The uprisings were to demand that the bakufu issue a *tokusei* (徳政 literally “virtuous rule,” which is essentially a cancellation of debts). In retrospect, the events surrounding Yoshinori’s assassination were early signs of the weakening and eventual decline of the Ashikaga bakufu’s power.

Gyôkô

Gyôkô (堯孝 1391-1455) was a high-ranking priest and poet. Although history has not preserved his memory very well or favorably, in his day he enjoyed the full support of Ashikaga Yoshinori, and was one of the most influential figures in the poetic milieu of the Muromachi period. Gyôkô’s father was Gyôjin (堯尋 d. 1412?), a poet of the Nijô school in the Nanbokuchô and Muromachi periods.¹³⁸ Gyôkô’s grandfather was Gyôken (堯賢 active mid-14th century), and his great-grandfather was Ton’a (頓阿 1289-1372). Gyôkô died on 1455.7.05, at sixty-five years old. He was an Abbot of Ninna-ji, and like his father, Gyôkô was interred at the Jôkô-in hall of Ninna-ji temple.

Like his great-grandfather, Ton’a, Gyôkô also served his official appointments in the Bureau of Poetry (*Wakadokoro* 和歌所). He was trained from early childhood in the Nijô school of poetry and entered the poetic milieu in 1414 by participating in the *One Hundred Poem Offering at Tonshô-ji* (*Tonshô-ji hôraku hyakushu* 頓証寺法楽百首). He

¹³⁸ Gyôjin was also called Gyôa 堯阿. He had eleven poems in the last two imperial anthologies, the *Shin goshûi wakashû* (新後拾遺和歌集 1375) and *Shin shoku kokin wakashû* (新続古今和歌集 1433).

interacted broadly with poets in the capital, whether in court, among the bakufu, or with fellow monks, but he was especially active in poetry events among the Askukai family. Gyôkô also had in his possession annotated manuscripts of the first imperial poetic anthology, the *Shin kokinshû* (新古今和歌集 905), which he passed down to his heirs. As an influential Nijô poet and a close attendant to Yoshinori, it was widely known that Gyôkô was a fierce rival of Shôtetsu (正徹 1381-1459), who was largely shunned from court for his association with the Reizei school of poetry and his unconventional poetic style.

In addition to his work on the *Shin shoku kokinshû*, Gyôkô is best known for his *Diary of Priest Gyôkô* (*Gyôkô hôin nikki* 堯孝法印日記 1446). He also has another travel diary from 1433 in which he accompanied Yoshinori on another excursion, called *Journey to Ise* (伊勢紀行). Gyôkô's works also include a diary-like poetic collection, *Poems as the Wind Takes Me* (*Bofû gokinshû* 慕風偶吟集 1421); a work of poetic theory, *Keimeishô* (桂明抄 1448); and a handful of poetic collections, including *Gyôkô shû* (堯孝集 1434), *Gyôkô hôin no jika awase* (堯孝法印自歌合 dates unknown), and *Gyôkô hyakushu* (堯孝百首 1434).

Asukai Masayo

Asukai Masayo (飛鳥井雅世 1390-1452)¹³⁹ was the heir to the Asukai house of the Fujiwara, and a seventh generation descendent of the *Shin kokinshû* editor, Masatsune

¹³⁹ Masayo's father was Asukai Masanori (雅緑 1358-1428). When Yoshinori was assassinated in the sixth month of 1441, Masayo discarded his official rank at court on

(雅経 1170-1221). The Asukai were famous not only as poets, but also as experts on *kemari* (蹴鞠), a type of kickball and a popular sport among the aristocracy from the Heian period. From the time of the third shogun Yoshimitsu, the Asukai family had been favored by the Ashikaga shoguns. As a result, Masayo rose quickly to become middle counselor of the full second rank (正二位権中納言). During his career he benefited greatly from Yoshinori's favor, although even Masayo occasionally lost some of his land revenue when he found himself the object of Yoshinori's displeasure. Masayo entered the literary milieu at the age of 19, when he participated in the *Ninetieth Poetry Competition of the imperial Court* (内裏九十番歌合) in 1407. He is best known for his work as the chief editor of the *Shin shoku kokinshû*, but he also has a well-known collection of his own poetry, the *Poetic Collection of Lord Asukai Masayo* (*Asukai Masayo kyô kashû* 飛鳥井雅世卿歌集 compilation date unknown).

Imagawa Norimasa

Imagawa Norimasa (今川範政 1364-1433) was the *shugo*, or constable, of Suruga province during the time of Yoshinori's rule as shogun.¹⁴⁰ Norimasa succeeded his father as the family head in 1409. Because Suruga is directly neighboring the Kantô region, Norimasa came into frequent contact with Ashikaga Mochiuji, the Kantô *kubô*. In 1416, Norimasa received orders from the Ashikaga bakufu to provide military support for the

1441.7.08, and took the tonsure three days later, on the tenth day of that month. His Buddhist name was Yûka (祐雅). Masayo died in the second month of 1452, at 63 years of age.

¹⁴⁰ He was also the governor of Kazusa province 上総国, which means that he was a formal part of the Kantô district, and under the direct command of Mochiuji.

then Kantô *kubô*, Mochiuji. He helped to stifle a revolt on the part of former Kantô *kanryô*, Uesugi Zenshû (上杉禅秀 or Uesugi Ujinori 上杉氏憲) in what became known as the Zenshû disturbance (Zenshû no ran 禅秀の乱 1416).

Norimasa was famous as a poet, and he was on friendly terms with other such poets as Shôtetsu (正徹 1381-1459) and Shôkô (正広 1412-1493). He has poems appearing in the *Shin shoku kokinshû*, and he was also widely known in his day as an excellent calligrapher and musician. He also wrote a six-volume study of the *Genji monogatari* (*Genji monogatari teiyô* 1432).

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(NKD; K. Abe; R. Abe; Adams et al.; Adams, Hoelscher and Till; Adolphson; Adolphson, Kamens and Matsumoto; Anno; Aoki, Hashimoto and Aoki; Ariyoshi; Ariyoshi and al; Asami; Atkins; Atkins, Bhowmik and Edward; Austin; Bakhtin and Holquist; Barnhill; Batten; Bell et al.; Borgen; Brandon; Braudy; Brower; Brower and Miner; Butler; Bynum; Cahill; Carter *The Road to Komatsubara: A Classical Reading of the Renga Hyakuin*; Carter *Literary Patronage in Late Medieval Japan*; Carter *Regent Redux: A Life of the Statesman-Scholar Ichijō Kaneyoshi*; Carter *Medieval Japanese Writers. Dictionary of Literary Biography*; Chikamatsu and Shively; Conlan *State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth-Century Japan*; Conlan *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth-Century Japan*; Cosgrove; Cosgrove and Daniels; Cranston *The Gem Glistening Cup*; Cranston *Grasses of Remembrance*; Crowley; Davis; Ebersole; Ekida; Ernst; Faure; Ferejohn and Rosenbluth; Finkel; Foard "The Loneliness of Matsuo Bashō"; Foard "The Boundaries of Compassion: Buddhism and National Tradition in Japanese Pilgrimage"; Foley *Traditional Oral Epic: The Odyssey, Beowulf, and the Serbo-Croatian Return Song*; Foley *Immanent Art: From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic*; Fujita and Pronko; H. Fukuda "Kaikoku No Ki: Kaidōki, Tōkan Kikō, Towazugatari, Miyako No Tsuto, Kaikoku Zakki Nado"; H. Fukuda "Studies of Medieval Japanese Literature: Recent Trends and Achievements"; H. Fukuda *Chūsei Nikki Kikō Shū. Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei*; Fukuda and Plutschow; Fukuda, Sugiyama and Sensō; T. Fukuda; Gates and Anozie; Gay; Graham; Greenfield and Brown; Hall; Hall and Cambridge University; Hall, Mass and Davis; Hallensleben; Hanawa; Hanawa and Ōta; Harley; Harley, Laxton and Center for American; Hashimoto, Ariyoshi and Fujihira; Hassam; Hayashi; Heldt; henshu; Hida; Higashibōjō and Ogawa; Hinata and 日向一雅; Horikiri; Horton "Renga Unbound: Performative Aspects of Japanese Linked Verse"; Horton *Traversing the Frontier: The Man'yōshū Account of a Japanese Mission to Silla in 736-737*; Horton and Sōchō; Hubach; Hubbard and Kitchin; Huey *Kyōgoku Tamekane: Poetry and Politics in Late Kamakura Japan*; Huey *The Making of Shinkokinshū*; Huey and Matisoff; Iinkai; Imai et al.; Imatani *Sengokuki No Muromachi Bakufu*; Imatani *Nihon Kokuo to Domin*; Imatani *Ashikaga Shogun Ansatsu: Kakitsu Tsuchiikki No Haikei*; Imatani *Kujibiki Shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori*; Imoto; Imoto and Hori; Inada *Shōtetsu No Kenkyū: Chūsei Kajin No Kenkyū*; Inada "Nijō Yoshimoto No Ojima No Kuchizusami to Genji Monogatari"; Inada "Sōkyū Ron: Miyako No Tsuto No Sakusha"; Inada, Satō and Mimura; Inoue *Chūsei Kadanshi No Kenkyū*; Inoue *Chūsei Kashoshū*; Inoue *Chusei Kadanshi No Kenkyu: Muromachi Zenki*; Inoue *Chūsei Waka: Shiryō to Ronkō*; Inoue *Chūsei Wakashū: Mimosusogawa Utaawase, Kinkai Wakashū Zatsubu, Gyokuyō Wakashū (Shō), Fūga Wakashū (Shō), Hoka. Shinpen Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshū*; Inoue *Chūsei Kadan to Kajinden No Kenkyū*; Inoue *Shoka Kaitai: Ōchō Waka Kara Chūsei Waka E*; Inoue and Ōoka; Inukai; Ishihara et al.; Ishihara, Tsumoto and Nishizawa *Towazugatari, Chūsei Joryū Nikki Bungaku No Sekai: Tamakiwaru, Izayoi Nikki, Nakatsukasa No Naishi Nikki, Ben No Naishi Nikki*; Ishihara, Tsumoto and Nishizawa *Joryū Nikki Bungaku to Wa Nani Ka*; K. Itō *Shinhokuchō No Hito to Bungaku*; K. Itō "Ojima No Kuchizusami: Nanbokuchō Dōran Wo Tabi Suru"; K. Itō *Chūsei Wakashū: Muromachi Hen. Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei*; K. Itō

Masukagami Kōsetsu: Rufubon Kō; K. Itō *Muromachi Jidai Waka Shiron*; N. Itō; Itoga; Iwahashi)

(Jones and Miner; Kadokawa Bunka Shinkō; Kagami and Kagami; Kaji; Kamens; Katagiri; Katō and Sanderson; Katō; Kawamoto; Keene *Travelers of a Hundred Ages*; Keene *Yoshimasa and the Silver Pavilion the Creation of the Soul of Japan*; Kern; Ki and haha; Kidō; Kimbrough "Apocryphal Texts and Literary Identity: Sei Shōnagon and "the Matsushima Diary""; Kimbrough "Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry: Spells, Truth Acts, and a Medieval Buddhist Poetics of the Supernatural"; Kodama *Tōkaidō Shukumura Taigaichō*; Kodama *Shukuba to Kaidō: Gokaidō Nyūmon*; Kodama *Shukuba to Kaidō: Gokaidō Nyūmon*; Kodama *Nihon Kōtsū Shi*; Kodama *Shukuba*; Kohei "Jakuren No Meisho Wakashū Nyushū Uta Ni Tsuite: *Chokusen Meisho Wakashō, Chokusen Meisho Wakashō Shūtsū, Meisho Shōshō, Dōmei Utamakura Nayose Shō Wo Chushin to Shite*"; Kohei "Jakuren No Meisho Wakashū Nyushū Uta Ni Tsuite: *Ruiji Meisho Wakashū, Matsuba Meisho Wakashū Wo Chushin to Shite*"; Kohei "Jakuren No Meisho Wakashū Nyushū Uta Ni Tsuite: *Shochi Tokaihen, Ruiji Meisho, Ruiji Meisho Gaishū Wo Chūshin to Shite*"; Kokugakuin; Kokushi Daijiten Henshū; Konishi, Brower and Miner; Konparu; Kornicki; Kristeva; J. Kubota *Chūsei Wakashi No Kenkyū*; J. Kubota *Iwanami Kōza Nihon Bungakushi*; J. Kubota *Nihon Kōten Bungaku Kikō*; J. Kubota, et al; J. Kubota *Kubota Jun Zadanshū*; J. Kubota *Tabi No Uta, Uta No Tabi: Utamakura Oboegaki*; Kubota and Itō; LaFleur "Points of Departure: Comments on Religious Pilgrimage in Sri Lanka and Japan"; LaFleur *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan*; Leiter; Lewis and Pile; Lowenthal; Maeda; Malm; Mass and Hauser; Matisoff; Matsuo Bashō. Donald Keene; H. Matsuoka; S. Matsuoka; Matsushita and Watanabe; McDonald; McKenzie, McDonald and Suarez; McKinney; Mezaki *Hyohaku: Nihon Shishoshi No Teiryū*; Mezaki "Aesthetic Reculeses During the Transition from Ancient to Medieval Japan"; Millett; Miner; Mitchell *On Narrative*; Mitchell *Landscape and Power*; Mitchell *Landscape and Power*; Miyoshi and Okano; Morrell; Mujū *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishū): The Tales of Mujū Ichien, a Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism*; Mujū *Shasekishū*; Muramatsu *Miyako No Tsuto* ; Ōu *Michinoki* ; Hanaigusa *Taizen*; Muramatsu *Miyako No Tsuto, Ōu Michinoki, Hanaigusa Taizen*; Muramatsu "*Oku No Hosomichi*" *No Sōzōryoku: Chūsei Kikō "Miyako No Tsuto" to No Ruiji*; Murasaki; Nagasaki et al.; N. Nakada; T. Nakada; Nakanoin Masatada no; Nichigai; Nihon Bukkyō Jinmei Jiten Hensan; Nijō *Ojima No Kuchizusami*; Nijō *Ojima No Suasami Zenshaku*; Nishitsunoi; NKD; Noda; Ō and Heldt; Ogawa "Nijō Yoshimoto to 'Yomei No Suke': Jimoku No Hiji, Oyobi *Genji Monogatari* No Nangi to Shite"; Ogawa *Chiiki No Kōreika to Fukushi: Kōreisha No Komyuniti Jōkyō*; Ogawa "Shogun Sandaiki Toshite No *Ojima No Susami*"; Ogawa *Nijō Yoshimoto Kenkyū*; Ogawa *Bushi Wa Naze Uta O Yomu Ka: Kamakura Shogun Kara Sengoku Daimyo Made*; Ogawa *Chūsei No Shomotsu to Gakumon*; Ōta; Pandey; Parker; Parry and Parry; Philippi; Pigeot; Plutschow "Japanese Travel Diaries of the Middle Ages"; Plutschow *Japan's Name Culture: The Significance of Names in a Religious, Political and Social Context*; Plutschow and Fukuda; Preminger, Warnke and Hardison; Ramirez-Christensen; Ramirez-Christensen and Shinkei; Ratcliff; Rath *Actors of Influence: Discourse and Institutional Growth in the History of Noh Theater*; Rath *The Ethos of Noh: Actors and Their Art* ; Reader; Reizei-ke Shiguretei; Rimer et al.; Rosenberg *The Art of the American Folk Preacher*; Rosenberg *Folklore and Literature: Rival Siblings*;

Russell; Schechner *Performance Theory*; Schechner *The Future of Ritual: Writings on Culture and Performance*; Schonbein; Scott; Shikishi and Sato; Shimauchi; Shimosada et al.; Shinkei and Ramirez-Christensen; Shirai *"Fuji Goran Nikki" Kō: Chūsei Kiōbun Kenkyū*; Shirai *Chūsei No Kikō Bungaku*; Shirai *Kajin Shōtetsu Kenkyū Josetsu*; Shirai *Muromachi Bungaku Zakki*; Shiraishi and Tsumura; Shirane *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō*; Shirane *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons: Nature, Literature, and the Arts*; Shirane and Arntzen; Shirane and Brandon; Silber; Spring; Stavros; Stern; Strassberg; Suleiman; Tada; Taft; Takahashi et al.; Takata; Takeuchi; Takeuchi, Yamada and Hirano; Tanaka; Tatenō; Turner *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*; Turner *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*; Turner *Process, Performance, and Pilgrimage: A Study in Comparative Symbolology*; Turner *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*; Tyler; Ueda and Chambers; Ueda and Ide; Watanabe et al.; Wilson; Wilson and Dabney; Wolfe et al.; Yamamoto; Yasuda; Yokoi and Gosukō; Yokoi and Gosukōin; Yonehara; Yoshihara; Yoshioka and Ogawa)